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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

FOREIGN ELEMENT IN THE WORK OF WASHINGTON IRVING

BY

Henry Ransford Reed

(A.B., Dartmouth College, 1910)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

1934

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FOREIGN ELEMENT IN THE WORK OF WASHINGTON IRVING

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to reveal the foreign element in the literary works of Washington Irving and to trace the relationship between this element and his long residence abroad. The Practical Standard Dictionary defines "element" as "a component or essential part". For the purposes of this thesis, the word "element" will be used as defined above.

Of the several qualities of personality which peculiarly distinguish the author, particularly the author who approaches his work in the romantic spirit, none is more significant than a sensibility to the ideal and the picturesque. If he possesses also a generosity of concept and a vision of life sufficiently broad to lift him above the common prejudices and misconceptions, so that he attains not only a disinterested judicial attitude but a sympathetic one as well, his estimate of humankind, be it man or nation, will achieve genuine worth and distinctive charm. He serves as an interpreter of life, it is true, but he accomplishes far more than the limitations of that role would permit. The very essence of his accomplishment is cre-

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to reveal the foreign element in the literary works of Washington Irving and to trace the relationship between this element and his long residence abroad. The French word "element" is defined as "a component or essential part." For the purpose of this thesis, the word "element" will be used as defined above.

Of the several qualities of personality which peculiarly distinguish the author, particularly the author who approaches his work in the romantic spirit, none is more important than a sensitivity to the ideal and the picturesque. It is necessary also a generosity of concept and a vision of life which is broad to lift him above the common prejudices and misconceptions so that he attains not only a higher and broader artistic but a sympathetic one as well. The estimate of personality, be it an oration, will achieve genuine worth and distinctive character as an interpreter of life, if it is true, but he cannot claim for himself the limitations of that role which are his. The very essence of his accomplishment is one-

ative, not in the narrow sense of merely expressing himself upon paper, but in the far greater function of building up a comprehension and understanding of viewpoints and characteristics, an indispensable prerequisite to the growth of goodwill between nations or individuals. The possession of these qualities and recognition of them, as expressed in his writings, gave Washington Irving his position as one of the foremost writers of the English-speaking world in the first half of the nineteenth century.

SCOPE OF THESIS

Only the works of Washington Irving which show the influence of his residence abroad will be considered in this thesis.

IMPORTANCE OF SUBJECT

The significance of Washington Irving's long residence in Europe and his intimate contacts with her literary, social and political leaders cannot be over-estimated in any appraisal of his literary work. A careful study of his journals and memoranda; the conclusions of those who have made his life and work the subject of painstaking research; most of the works of Washington Irving themselves; all reflect the impress of his long life abroad.

GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COSMOPOLITAN SPIRIT

active, not in the narrow sense of merely expressing himself upon paper, but in the far greater function of building up a comprehensive and understanding of viewpoints and attitudes - a comprehensive and understanding of viewpoints and attitudes - will between nations of individuals. The possession of these qualities and recognition of them, as expressed in his writing, have Washington Irving's position as one of the foremost writers of the English-speaking world in the first half of the nineteenth century.

SCOTT'S OPINION

Only the works of Washington Irving which show the influence of his residence should be considered in this thesis.

IRVING'S OPINION

The significance of Washington Irving's long residence in Europe and his intimate contacts with her literary, social and political leaders cannot be over-estimated in any general appraisal of his literary work. A general study of his journals and memoirs; the conditions of those who have made his life and work the subject of painstaking research; most of the works of Washington Irving themselves; all reflect the influence of his long life abroad.

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF IRVING'S OPINION

To a considerable extent inherited qualities of mind and careful early training prepared Washington Irving to play a distinguished part in the best society on the Continent and in England. His father, a leading merchant of New York, established his family upon a firm social and financial basis. His mother was a woman of unusual charm and intelligence. Young Irving received the best instruction available at various private schools of the city. He was by no means an eager student, following his own inclination for books of a romantic or adventurous type, and neglecting subjects of a more utilitarian appeal.

Courtesy and refinement were innate qualities of character, but careful instruction in the formal deportment of the period, an unusual charm of appearance and poise of manner, and a genuine and enthusiastic interest in everything and everyone about him, endeared him to all.

Irving possessed a considerable degree of artistic skill. His notebooks are filled with sketches and caricatures of scenes and people encountered at home and abroad. He had likewise an appreciative ear for music and a keen interest in the theatre. Thus it will be seen that Washington Irving possessed those arts and graces calculated to impress the sophisticated society of European capitals. Yet his personal modesty and kindness prevented the least assumption of superiority and he never abandoned his loyalty to the democratic principles of his beloved America.

To a certain extent, the extent of his mind and
 certain body training prepared Washington living to display
 distinguished and in the best society on the continent and in
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 gifts and proper cultivated to witness the sophisticated society
 of European capitals. Yet his personal modesty and kindness
 prevented the least assumption of superiority and he never
 allowed his loyalty to the despotic principles of the Pa-
 rish to become.

FIRST EUROPEAN VISIT

The subtle influence of physical infirmity is often evident in the life of Washington Irving. It manifested itself at the age of twenty-one, when threatened tuberculosis made a sea voyage imperative. The weeks at sea wrought a remarkable improvement and when he landed at Bordeaux he was eagerly anticipatory of the delights of adventure in strange lands.

1

As a direct stimulus to literary creativeness, his wanderings on the Continent and in England seemed without immediate result. Irving wrote none of his sketches or tales while abroad at this time. But his travels did unquestionably broaden the horizon and stimulate the romantic imagination of the future author. His letters at this time make little mention of the political and social upheaval of Europe during the Napoleonic conquest, but he is constantly studying picturesque character types and absorbing the history and atmosphere of the countries he visits. He is deeply impressed with the historic grandeur of Rome. He reacts with youthful delight to the spell of Paris, "the brilliancy of the theatres, operas, etc., the beauty of the public walks, the gaiety, good humor, and universal politeness of the people, and the perfect liberty of private conduct."

2

1. Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, Vol. 1, p. 14

2. Ibid. p. 150.

THE LITERARY VISIT

The public influence of mystical literature is often
 evident in the life of the English living. It is manifested in
 itself at the age of twenty-one, when Emerson had introduced
 into our literature the mystic. Emerson was a mystic in an
 especial sense, and he has been the source of an
 entirely new philosophy of the delights of adventure in strange
 lands.

As a direct stimulus to literary creation, his
 writings on the Continent and in England began almost
 immediately. Emerson's own work of his creation of tales
 while almost at this time. But his travels did not stop there.
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 ation of the future author. The letters of this time
 first mention of the political and social upheaval of Europe
 during the Napoleonic era, but he is constantly studying
 and discussing the political and social changes of the time and at-
 tending to the political and social changes. He is deeply impressed
 with the historic events of the time, in connection with political
 events of the world. "The brilliancy of the theater,"
 opera, etc., the beauty of the public works, the safety, com-
 fort, and universal politeness of the people, and the perfect
 liberty of private conduct."

1. Emerson, Living, Life and Letters of Emerson, Vol. 1, p. 150.
 2. Ibid., p. 150.

His criticism of the London theatre is independent and enlightened. He writes: "Kemble appears to me to be a very studied actor. His performances throughout evince deep study and application, joined to amazingly judicious conception. They are correct and highly-finished paintings, but much labored."

1

Of the famous Mrs. Siddons he has this to say: "Were I to indulge without reserve in my praises of Mrs. Siddons, I am afraid you would think them hyperbolical. What a wonderful woman! The very first time I saw her perform, I was struck with admiration. It was in the part of Calista. Her looks, her voice, her gestures, delighted me. She penetrated in a moment to my heart. She froze and melted it by turns; a glance of her eye, a start, an exclamation, thrilled my whole frame. And yet this woman is old, and has lost all elegance of figure."

2

Irving kept no journal while in Paris or London. His attitude at this time is that of the pleasure-seeker, the penetrating observer, who is content to receive impressions, but evinces no desire to turn them to literary account. But mind and imagination were stimulated by these new experiences, though the incentive to profit by them remained to be developed at a later day. If his first European voyage failed to attract Irving to the profession of letters, it certainly did make sufficiently lasting impression to induce him instinctively

2. Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, V.1, p.156.

2. Ibid. p. 159.

...of the ... in ...

... He writes: "The ... to be a very ... His performance throughout ... and ... joined to ... They also ... and ...

... On the ... she ... I ... to ... think ... I ... the very first time I saw her perform, I was struck with ... it was in the part of ... her ... she ... heart. She ... a ... and ... a ... and ...

... Irving kept no journal ... of his life is ... of the ... Irving ... and ... Irving ... Irving ... Irving ...

... Irving ... Irving ... Irving ...

to return to Europe at a later period for further inspiration. Washington Irving left England on Jan. 17, 1806, landing at New York after a stormy passage of sixty-four days.

SECOND VOYAGE TO EUROPE

Of Irving's life in America between 1806 and 1815 little mention is necessary, as it falls without the scope of this thesis. Yet some mention must be made of it, for the interval had seen the inception of his first literary efforts. When he sailed for Europe in 1815, he had already written the "Salmagundi Papers" and the "History of New York". This latter work had received European notice and approval. Walter Scott was delighted with it. In its trenchant humor and penetrating characterization he saw a close resemblance to the work of Dean Swift and Laurence Sterne. Nothing like it had ever before appeared in American letters. But these works were purely American in spirit and concept. Neither showed any foreign influence. 1

Washington Irving's attitude toward literature as a profession, previous to his second trip abroad, is clearly stated 2 by Charles Dudley Warner: "Up to the time Irving went abroad for the second time, his chief ambition seemed to be to shine as a man of society, and he had the appearance of valuing his achievements with the pen only as a means of social distinction."

1. Charles Dudley Warner, Studies of Irving, Vol.1,p.25.

2. Ibid. p. 21.

of the... 1800... after a long period of...

SECOND VOICE IN THE HISTORY

of living's life in... period between... and...
mentioned in... as it falls within the scope of this...
had seen the... of his... literary...
received... notice and approval...
lighted with it... in its...
mentioned... a close... to the work of...
... and... which...
... in... and these...
... and...
... of...
... to his...
... to the...
... his...
... and the...
... as a...
... with the...

Consideration of Irving's early ill health and understanding of the lack of financial incentive does much to explain this attitude. Life thus far had dealt gently with him and his attitude toward it was precisely like that of many another similarly placed. The sudden withdrawal of an apparently assured income and the imperative need of funds for daily existence were met with a patience and courage wholly admirable, as his whole future life testified.

Irving set sail for Europe "to spread his sails wherever any vagrant breeze might carry him." This holiday mood was destined to last but briefly. Upon arrival at Liverpool he found his brother Peter, who presided over the English branch of the family mercantile house, indisposed. The war between England and America had forced a suspension of commerce for a time, and now Irving found his brother incapable of business management. He at once dismissed all holiday plans and took immediate charge of the situation. Until the beginning of 1818 he was burdened with unaccustomed business cares. At the end of this period, the brothers decided to take advantage of the Bankrupt Act and to declare the business insolvent. An occasional ramble through England, Scotland, or Wales was his only escape from depressing cares. With the failure of the family business Irving now found it necessary to turn in all seriousness to his pen.

During his three years' stay in England Irving had found time to make a few literary contacts which were to prove of

Jonathan of Irving's early life and upbringing
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 nuous income and the imperative need of funds for daily ex-
 penses were not with a patient and courage wholly un-
 known to him.

Irving set out for Europe to spend the winter months
 and to secure some more capital. This he had done for
 several years but he had not been successful. He had
 found the market for his goods in Europe was not
 of the family mercantile house, indicated. The war between
 England and America had caused a suspension of commerce for
 a time, and now Irving found his brother Joseph of business
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 of this period, the brother decided to take advantage of the
 fact that the market for his goods was not so good as
 it had been through England, Scotland, or Wales was the only one
 open from depressing causes. With the failure of the family
 business Irving now found it necessary to turn in all capital
 into his own.

Irving also came back to England and Irving had found
 time to make a few literary contacts which were to prove of

the greatest value to him. He had met Murray and Constable, both important London publishers. He had formed a delightful friendship with the poet Campbell. While on a tour of Scotland, he had met Jeffrey, the publisher of the famed "Edinburgh Review", who had received him with cordiality and had asked him to contribute to his periodical.

1

Washington Irving's visit to Walter Scott at Abbotsford stimulated him to still greater interest in a literary career. Moreover, it was the good offices of Scott which secured for him a publisher of repute and financial standing in England. Irving's meeting with Scott affected his life so profoundly that it seems worth recording his personal impressions of the man and the event. "On Saturday morning early I took chaise for Melrose, and on the way stopped at the gate of Abbotsford. The glorious minstrel himself came limping to the gate, took me by the hand in a way that made me feel as if we were old friends. I cannot tell you how truly I have enjoyed the hours I have passed with him. They fly by too quick, yet each is loaded with story, incident, or song; and when I consider the world of ideas, images and impressions that have crowded upon my mind since I have been here, it seems incredible that I should have been two days at Abbotsford."

2

That Scott was equally delighted with his new friend Irving is apparent from a letter which he wrote to his friend John
1. Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, V.1.p.379.
2. Ibid. p. 381.

the greatest value to him. He had met Murray and Constance,
 both important London publishers. He had formed a delightful
 friendship with the poet Campbell. He had seen a lot of Scott,
 he had met Jeffrey, the publisher of the "Edinburgh Review",
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I cannot tell you how truly I have enjoyed the hours I have
 passed with him. His lively conversation, his warm and loaded with
 story, fact, and anecdote; and that I could not find a word of
 flattery and hyperbole that have crowded upon my mind since I
 have been here. It seems incredible that I should have been so

long at Abbotsford.
 Scott was equally delighted with his new friend and
 the agreement from a letter which he wrote to his friend John
 1. Irving, M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, N.Y., 1859.
 2. Irving, p. 281.

Richardson, dated Sept. 22, 1817: "When you see Tom Campbell, tell him, with my best love, that I have to thank him for making me known to Mr. Washington, who is one of the best and pleasantest acquaintances I have made this many a day."

THE SKETCH BOOK

Under date of March 3, 1819, Washington Irving wrote from London to his brother Ebenezer in New York, transmitting with this letter the manuscript of "The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.", which he desired to be published first in America. His own words reveal the source of his literary inspiration. 1 "I have been for some time nursing my mind up for literary operations, and collecting materials for the purpose. I shall be able, I trust, now to produce articles from time to time that will be sufficient for my present support, and form a stock of copyright property, that may be a little capital for me hereafter. To carry this into better effect it is important for me to remain a little longer in Europe, where there is so much food for observation, and objects of taste on which to meditate and improve.

THE BOAR'S HEAD TAVERN, EASTCHEAP

In his praiseworthy effort to revive the ancient amity between the two great English-speaking peoples of the world, Irving naturally turned to those great Englishmen whose genius

1. Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, Vol. 1, p. 387.

THE SWEDISH BOOK

When Kate of ...
from London to his ...
with this letter ...
"I have been for some time ...
and collecting ...
also, I think, ...
will be sufficient ...
regarding ...
after. To ...
to remain ...
look for ...

THE SWEDISH BOOK

In his ...
between the two ...
living naturally ...
I. ...

had become an acknowledged tradition and a mutual bond. Turning the pages of Shakespeare's "Henry Fourth" and happening upon the scenes of "madcap revelry" at the old Boar's Head Tavern, a visit to the place suggested itself. Arrived at Eastcheap, famous for its cookery and its conviviality, he found the only relic of the ancient inn to be a boar's head, carved in stone, and fixed in the wall of an old house which stood upon the site of Dame Quickly's whilom abode. Referred for historical detail to a tallow-chandler's widow nearby, it developed that the old tavern had been destroyed by fire in the great London conflagration, that it had been rebuilt and used as a tavern until a dying landlord, in a religious moment, had bequeathed it to St. Michael's Church. Later still, the commercial demands of the neighborhood had caused it to be converted into shops. There was, however, a picture of the Boar's Head to be seen at St. Michael's.

Irving, in his ramblings through the little alleys and dark passageways of this historic old neighborhood, never did discover the picture of which he was in search. But he did contrive to present to his readers the spirit of Old England as exemplified in some of her more humble subjects. He shows us the sexton of St. Michael's, a humble, scraping little man, exchanging philosophical observations over a pint of ale with the organist of the church. The old man is a mine of local tradition. He points out the grave of Robert Preston, once the drawer of the Boar's Head, and relates how, on a dark winter's

and became an active member of the "Ladies' Club" and "The
 ing the name of "Henry's Club" and "The
 with the name of "Henry's Club" of the old town's hall
 Tennyson's visit to the place suggested itself. It was at that
 place, known for its beauty and its antiquity, in 1842
 the only relic of the great hall to have been saved, carved
 in stone, and fixed in the wall of an old house which stood
 upon the site of the late "Henry's Club" house. It is
 historical relic to a fellow-countryman's "Henry's Club" and
 visited that the old town had been destroyed by fire in the
 great London conflagration. The "Henry's Club" and the
 as a souvenir of a great London, in a religious museum, and
 described in the "Ladies' Club" paper. Later still, the col-
 lected remains of the neighborhood had caused it to be con-
 verted into a park. There was, however, a relic of the town's
 that could be seen at St. Michael's.

Thus, the remains of the "Henry's Club" and
 that had been of this historic old neighborhood, were all
 however the distance of which he was in search. In the old con-
 tinue to present to the reader the spirit of the old English ac-
 exemplified in some of her more public monuments. In some in-
 new section of the "Ladies' Club" public, separate "Ladies' Club",
 extensive philosophical investigations over a period of time with
 the original of the church. The old town is a relic of the old
 that it is the name of Robert Tennyson, once the
 friend of the town's head, and related to, on a dark winter's

night, awakened by the cry of "Waiter" from the tavern nearby, the drawer had appeared in the midst of a jolly clerical group, bearing sundry mugs of foaming ale, to the consternation of all beholders.

On the pretext of showing us the old silverware used at the services of St. Michael's, Irving takes us to The Mason's Arms, a typical little inn of this humble neighborhood. He delights in showing us the simple charm of its well-kept interior. At one end of the room is a coal fire, before which a breast of lamb is roasting. Brass candlesticks and pewter plates and mugs line the mantle-piece. Individual boxes, furnished with a plain deal table and an immaculate table-cloth, give an air of cosy intimacy. The guests are solid, respected business men, the very sort, remarks Irving, which have given England her reputation for punctual honesty and sober propriety.

The landlady is most obliging. She offers for his admiration a japanned iron tobacco-box, of gigantic size, which, she explains, was used by the vestry of St. Michael's at its stated meetings. A silver goblet, the gift of one Francis Wythers, Knight, to the vestry, is next offered for inspection. It is a masterful example of craftsmanship, to be sure, but it suggests the natural inference that the vestry of St. Michaels had, it appears, its worldly side.

Incidents trivial in themselves Irving turns always to good account. His sympathetic imagination clothes them with a charm and a significance which would never occur to the pro-

right, and one of the boys of "Walden" from the eastern district,
the driver had appeared in the night of a full moon, and
having nearly sung of the sea, to the consternation of
the others.

On the pretext of leaving us the six silverware used at
the dinner of St. Michael's, I went down to the house
above, a typical little town of the Pacific Northwest.
I found in a room at the right end of the main block the
table, at the end of the room is a corner table, before which
for use of land is possible. These conditions were never
and some time the mantle-piece, looking at the corner, I
found a table and an ironing table, and as the
very thing, the guests are cold, I supposed business was
very good, the table is very, which has given the
reason for the usual heavy and cold weather.

The land is most striking, the table for the
table - Japanese iron table-top, of the same size, which
the explanation, was used by the vessel of St. Michael's at the
table. A silver table, the gift of one of the
table, which, to the vessel, is part of the table for inspection.
It is a matter of course of order, to be sure, but it
suggests the actual inference that the vessel of St. Michael's
has, if it were, the world side.

Incidents trivial in themselves, but which are
not so. The sympathetic imagination of the crew with
the vessel, a significance which would never occur to the
others.

W.B. B. Co.

saic. His quick eye discerns the quaint and the ludicrous, but his humor is never tainted by the scorn of littler minds and he always finds in the most humble being some quality which deserves our respect and attention.

THE BROKEN HEART

"The Broken Heart" is a romantic sketch based upon the tragedy of a lovely Irish lady, whose husband was undeservedly executed for treason by the English. The courageous demeanor of this young man aroused great public sympathy at the time, which was enhanced by the inconsolable grief of the widow, who shortly followed him to the grave. Irving used this incident to illustrate the difference between what he conceived to be the love of woman and the love of man. The conventions of the nineteenth century placed women at a great disadvantage. Her one opportunity for self-expression, reasoned Irving, was a happy marriage. Denied this, life itself became intolerable. Marriage, to a man, did not require this complete absorption, for it was only a part of his existence. Business, social life, travel, a variety of outside interests, demanded his attention. Thwarted in love, man could turn to them for relief. But woman, denied these avenues of escape from herself, usually withered and died.

To a modern reader of this essay its theme may make little appeal. He may decry it as sentimentality and wonder at the simplicity of an age that could enjoy such an appeal to romantic idealism. But romantic idealism was the keynote of the age.

... his quick eye discerns the faint and the indistinct, at
his work is never tainted by the error of lighter minds and
he never flinches in the most humble, doing some quality which
demands our respect and attention.

THE BROKEN HEART

"The Broken Heart" is a romance which passed upon the
stage of a lovely lady, whose husband was unjustly
executed for treason by the English. The poor and defenseless
this young man caused great public sympathy at the time, which
was enhanced by the immediate trial of the widow, who
followed him to the grave. Irving used this incident as a
basis for the play between that in connection with the
in which the love of man. The conventional of the first act
which is a great discovery, but one which
for the self-expression, reasoned Irving, was a happy marriage.
acted this, this lady became a victim of...
to not realize this complete abolition, for it was only a
part of his existence, but as a life, travel, a variety
of outside interests, and the relation. It varied in love,
and could turn to them for relief. One woman, called these
because of escape from herself, which withered and died.
To a certain extent of this heavy life that may have been
launched. The day dawned in an essentially new world at the
stability of an eye that could enjoy such an appeal to human
the idealist, but remains identical was the keynote of the age.

Chivalry toward women was the groundwork of every young gentleman's education. Who can deny that much of the graciousness and charm of life disappeared with the so-called emancipation of women?

This sketch was greatly admired by the aristocratic readers of the day. Irving was thought to have attained the ultimate in natural and sweet pathos. The author's inborn qualities of gentleness and refinement revealed themselves in the sincerity and charm of "The Broken Heart". As a matter of fact, he wrote from the heart, for he had early lost, through death, his betrothed, Matilda Hoffman. Every intimate of Washington Irving knew the devotion with which he cherished her memory, which was a deep, though concealed, influence in his life to the day of his death.

ENGLISH WRITERS ON AMERICA

In this sketch Irving deals plainly with the hostility manifested between literary men of England and the United States. The English traveller, he maintained, displays the best and the worst traits of the English nation. He is shrewd and penetrating in his observations and estimates of foreign nations and is likewise fair, provided no element of rivalry enter into the situation. But if the reputation of his country is at stake, the Englishman is boastful and unfair to a degree.

Irving attempts to make this criticism less galling by remarking that the United States has been unfortunate in the

University today, was the groundwork of every young man's education. It was the first step towards the acquisition of a liberal education.

This sketch was greatly admired by the aristocratic world of the day. Living was thought to have attained the highest point of natural and social perfection. The author's industry, genius, and refinement revealed themselves in the sketch and others of "The Englishman". As a matter of fact, he wrote from the heart, for he had early lost, through death, his beloved, and the devotion which he cherished for her, which was a deep, though concealed, influence in his life to the day of his death.

ENGLISH WRITERS ON AMERICA

In this sketch Living deals mainly with the hostility manifested between literary men of England and the United States. The English traveler, he maintained, displays the best and the worst traits of the English nation. He is clever and generous in his observations and estimates of foreign nations and in his criticisms, provided an element of rivalry enters into the situation. But if the reputation of his country is at stake, the Englishman is beautiful and this is a danger. Living attempts to make this criticism less glaring by reporting that the United States has been unfortunate in the

type of Englishman visiting her shores. The travelling salesman, the broken-down mechanic, the unscrupulous adventurer, could not be expected, he declares, to report with intelligence or sympathy the social or intellectual qualities of a nation. English people have been too ready to accept scurrilous comment about the United States from people whom they would have refused to receive in their homes.

1

Elements of the American population are, it is true, cheap and vulgar. But education and refinement are constantly, though unobtrusively, working to correct these faults, which the superficial English observer entirely overlooked. The traveller may miss some of the comforts and amenities to which he is accustomed at home, yet he often fails to realize that these superficial discomforts are more than counterbalanced by vastly greater social and political freedom than that to which he is accustomed at home.

2

English travellers, too, have often misunderstood the lack of social distinctions in America. They have accepted friendliness and democratic informality as an acknowledgement of personal superiority and have requited it with scorn, though these very people would not have received, by virtue of their station, the same courtesy and consideration in England.

But why take to heart so keenly the aspersions of England? It is, after all, world opinion that counts. But the influence

1. Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book*, p.97.

2. *Ibid.* Vol.2,p.99.

type of Englishman visiting her shores. The time taken to reach
 the West-Indian islands, the uncertainty of the weather, could not
 be expected, as before, to result with the certainty of a
 by the social or intellectual condition of a nation. English
 people have been too ready to accept as a national characteristic
 the United States that people whom they would have refused to
 receive in their homes.

Elements of the American population are, it is true, of
 and vigor. An education and refinement are constantly being
 progressively, leading to a more perfect state, which the Amer-
 ican people observe with interest. The traveler who
 give some of the people and societies to which in its progress
 of at home, and he often finds that those who are
 Americans are more than compensated by vastly greater

social and political freedom than that to which they are accustomed
 at home.
 English travelers, too, have often remarked the lack
 of social distinctions in America. They have noticed the
 ease and democratic intimacy which is acknowledged of persons
 and have regretted it with reason, though in a very

people would not have done so. The value of their hotel, and
 the country, and conversation in England.
 But the fact is that the superiority of England
 to the other all, would appear in the course. But the influence
 J. Macpherson Lewis, The Sketch Book, p. 27.
 S. Field, Vol. 2, p. 32.

of the written word in the United States is little realized in England. The American is an omniverous reader. Universal education and a popular press give wide circulation to every slander of an English statesman, every calumny from the pen of an English writer. It should be the duty of literature to create, not to destroy, good feeling between the nations.

1

Irving denies the English impression that Americans are hostile to the mother country. They resent, it is true, the illiberality of English writers and politicians, but they retain the memory of English inheritance and associations and secretly long for the good opinion of England. He warns American writers not to imitate the slanderous attacks of English authors and journalists. These replies, he makes clear, would never be published in England and would therefore fail of their object. Further, Americans will retain a far higher standard of self-respect and effectiveness if they ignore hostile English comment altogether.

2

Irving makes the further point that a new and developing country like the United States should not be blinded by the prejudices of the Old World, but should strike out for herself along new paths. There is much, he insists, to admire in the English character. The spirit of her constitution is the spirit

3

1. Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book*, p. 101.

2. *Ibid.* p. 104.

3. *Ibid.* p. 105.

of the written word in the United States is little realized in England. The American is an omnivorous reader, uninvolved and casual and a writer must give wide consideration to every class of an English's attention, every sentence from the top of an English writer. It should be the duty of literature to create, not to destroy, good feeling between the nations.

Living books are the great literature that America has to offer to the world. They are not, as is often said, the property of English writers and politicians, but they are the property of English literature and civilization and are not only for the good of England, but for the good of the world. These books are the only ones that will remain a part of the world's literature and are not only for the good of England, but for the good of the world. These books are the only ones that will remain a part of the world's literature and are not only for the good of England, but for the good of the world. These books are the only ones that will remain a part of the world's literature and are not only for the good of England, but for the good of the world.

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1. Washington Irving, The Sketch Book, p. 101.
2. Ibid. p. 104.
3. Ibid. p. 105.

of view, have much in common with those of our own country. Let us not imitate England merely because it is England, but discriminate between her good qualities and her bad.

JOHN BULL

In his sketch entitled "John Bull" Irving continues his interpretation of English life and character. He observes that the name and symbol which the English have chosen to express their nationality is a typical expression of British humor. Far from selecting something grandiose and imposing, John Bull is a sturdy, corpulent old fellow with a stolid, florid face, red waistcoat, leather breeches and an oaken cudgel. He is, of course, a self-imposed caricature, but he does express the bluff, hearty English temperament to an extraordinary degree. But the old fellow is thoroughly insular, and proud of it. Irving suggests that perhaps his implied character has led the more ignorant part of the English population to place too high a valuation upon its fancied freedom from foreign fripperies, to the unnecessary exclusion of a broader national culture.

1

With his customary genial understanding, the author dwells upon the solid qualities of the English temperament. To Irving, the true Englishman is "jolly rather than gay; melancholy rather than morose; is easily moved to a sudden tear, or surprised into a broad laugh. But he loathes sentiment and has no turn for light

2

1. Washington Irving, The Sketch Book, p. 336.

2. Ibid. p. 338.

of view, have been in common with those of our own country. Let us
and I believe that the English people are not so much
as our own people.

JAMES EARL

In the speech entitled "The English Language" by James Earl
of English life and character. He states that the
and that the English language has ceased to express their
in a typical expression of English humor. The
including something like "John Bull is a sturdy
of John Bull is a sturdy, John Bull is a sturdy,
and in a word, he is, of course, a sturdy
but he does express the fact that the English
to an extraordinary degree. But the old fellow in
and the fact of it, having said that perhaps
the same argument part of the Eng-
with a valuation upon the English
to the unnecessary expression of
another national culture.

and the English language, the English people
of the English language. In English,
the English language is "John Bull is a sturdy
and I believe that the English people are not so much
as our own people. But in English sentiment we have no sense for
the English language, the English people, p. 355.

pleasantry. He is a boon companion, if you allow him to talk about himself; and he will stand by a friend in a quarrel, with life and purse, however soundly he may be cudgeled". The reader will, I think, admit this rather an accurate summary and will understand, likewise, why Irving gained such widespread popularity with the British public.

In spite of his willingness to take up a quarrel, the author sees the average Englishman little interested in its results. He is much too good-natured to press to a justified revenge and is often deprived, therefore, of the fruits of his valor. He resents compulsion, but can be wheedled easily out of anything he possesses.

To give point to his previous generalizations of English character, Irving now presents to the reader a typical country squire of the early nineteenth century. Long familiarity with the English countryside and the landed gentry enabled Irving to do full justice to this theme. Always a lover of the rural scene, Irving delighted his English readers by the fidelity and vividness of his portrayal. Their amazement at an American who could write with taste and charm was only surpassed by their delighted conviction that here was a man who saw England through English eyes and with an understanding heart.

There is something almost Addisonian in the manner in which he depicts the whimsical generosity and testy irritability of this rural despot. Another might have been betrayed into vulgar satire, but not Irving. He sympathizes with the pride which demands that

... he is a poor creature, it is not his fault, but his
 nature; and he will never be a creature of another kind
 and never however possibly be any be anything. The reason why
 I think, what I say rather an accurate summary and will mean-
 ing, likewise, why living cannot much improve, especially with
 the English nation.

... the side of the willingness to give up a creature, the nation
 sees the various English nation interested in their nation, so
 to speak, and it is to be a justified language and is
 often to be seen, that the truth of the nation is to be
 considered, and it is a matter of fact that it is a matter
 of fact.

To give point to his previous explanation of English
 character, living has proved to be a very a typical country
 nation of the early nineteenth century. And naturally with the
 English character and the English nation and living to do
 all things to this time. Living a lover of the great scene,
 living delighted in the English nation and living and living
 side of him, perhaps. It is a matter of fact that it is a matter
 of fact and that it is only a very small part of the English
 nation that lives and a man who has English and English
 even and with an understanding heart.

There is something about the nation in the manner in which
 to which the English nation and living and living of the
 great world. Another might have been perhaps that with living
 but not living, perhaps living and living and living and living

the old manor house, a rambling conglomeration of varying architectural epochs, be maintained with a degree of pretention, in spite of varying demands upon a diminishing income. If the faded glories of the banqueting hall and the tarnished splendor of the deserted suites are eloquent of departed grandeur, they are still symbolical of family pride and national glory, upon which every Englishman prided himself, as Irving well knew. If his retinue of servants and dependents is beyond all bounds of economic prudence, is not this an exemplification of typical English bounty?

1

Mindful of the altered viewpoint of the rising generation, Irving represents the children as opposed to the sacrifices of the old squire. Unimpressed by ancient family glory, they demand retrenchment and a closer alignment of income with expenditure. But the tactless attitude of a younger son, who prefers the tavern and its society to family festivity, arouses the old man to rebellion. Once again, family pride becomes the issue and parental authority asserts itself.

Irving philosophizes upon the effect of this struggle for appearances upon the older generation, as symbolized by the old squire. John Bull is no longer the bluff, hearty old fellow of better times. His shrunken body and waspish disposition attest the bitterness of family strife. Critical dependents, while they accept the squire's assistance, privately assert that the old gentry is bordering upon decay. Yet Irving eulogizes the old

the old man's house, a rooming establishment of various kinds
 social circles, he maintained with a degree of persistence
 side of varying degrees upon a diminishing number of the
 circles of the past and the present, and the former relations of
 the present circles are often not to be seen in the same
 still symmetrical of family units and national glory, which
 every individual must himself, as living well know. It is
 relation of various and dependent is beyond all forms of con-
 sole produce, in not this an exemplification of typical social
 country
 attitude of the altered viewpoint of the family relations
 living represents the children as opposed to the restrictions of
 the old regime. It is expressed by ancient family glory, that is
 and retirement and a closer alignment of those with expedi-
 ture. But the taciturn attitude of a younger man, who is
 the tavern and its society to family loyalty, because the old
 man is rebellion. Once again, family unity becomes the same
 and parental authority appears itself.

Living philosophies upon the effect of this struggle for
 appearance upon the other generation, as symbolized by the old
 regime. John will be no longer the child, nearly old fellow of
 better times. His character and his wealth disappear almost
 the bitterness of family strife, mutual dependence, while the
 accept the nation's assistance, privately aware that the old
 party is forbidden upon duty. But living children the old

national ideals. If extravagance is present, it is in reality the fault of generosity. If the old squire is quarrelsome, it proves his native courage and independence. The oak has a rough exterior, but it is sound and sturdy at heart, and so, declares Irving, is the English character as exemplified by the landed gentry.

THE MUTABILITY OF LITERATURE

In the delightful little sketch on "The Mutability of Literature" Irving writes subjectively of his literary convictions. In his usual whimsical manner, he introduces the subject in the form of a conversation between a parchment-bound quarto, which he has taken from the library in Westminster Abbey and which miraculously acquires the power of speech, and himself. The little quarto has a distinct grievance. He objects volubly to being kept incommunicado with thousands of other volumes upon a dusty shelf. The Dean, at least, might visit them occasionally, as a mark of respect and friendship. Books, he declares, were written to give pleasure and instruction to human beings. Why not give them a chance to do it?

Irving endeavors to reassure and comfort him. It is the fate of books to be forgotten and in this respect the little quarto is not a whit worse off than most of his contemporaries. He cites Giraldus Cambrensis, the historian, antiquary, philosopher, theologian, and poet. This estimable gentleman gave up

national ideal. It is not, however, in itself, to be a reality
the fault of generosity. It is the duty of the writer to be
proud and native content and independence. The aim is to be
entirely, but it is not to be a mere copy of the past, and so,
living, in the English character as exemplified by the landed

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LITERATURE

In the delightful little sketch on "The Responsibility of the
States" living writes a subjective of his literary convictions.
In the usual manner of a chapter, he introduces the subject in the
form of a conversation between a person and a friend, which
he has taken from the life in Eastchester, New York, and which
directional, acquire the power of speech, and himself. The
little piece has a distinct character. He objects, possibly to
being read in connection with thousands of other volumes upon a
dusty shelf. The book, at least, is not, it is essentially,
as a work of respect and friendship. Books, he believes, were
written to give pleasure and instruction to human beings. They
do not give them a chance to do it.

Living endeavors to restore and comfort him. It is the
fact of books to be forgotten and in this respect the little
piece is not a whit worse off than most of his contemporaries.
He also speaks of the "Gentleman," the "Gentleman," the "Gentleman," the
Gentleman, the "Gentleman," and so on. This gentleman, however, has

two bishoprics to devote himself entirely to writing, with what result? Few have even become aware of his existence. But the little quarto is far from pacified. He is notable, he declares, for the purity of his native English, at a time when the language had scarcely become fixed.

1.

Irving takes occasion to reveal the absurdity of the idea that Spencer's poetry sprang from a "well of pure English undefiled." On the contrary, Irving insists, the English language may be likened to a muddy brook, constantly subject to defilement and change. It is, consequently, the fate of the author to find his thought muddied and obscure to later generations, which refuse to take the necessary pains to understand, but turn instead to modern authors more easy of comprehension.

2.

This constant alteration of language and the consequent obscurity of ancient authors is, Irving reasons, perhaps a desirable condition after all. If the vegetable kingdom produced imperishable products, nature would over-run the earth. Similarly, if the products of the pen were never to be forgotten, the intellectual market would be glutted and new creative genius would receive no stimulus. It appears to me that Irving has not selected a very happy analogy. Perfect specimens of the vegetable world have never been produced in over-abundance, nor have the masterpieces of literature been so numerous as to lower

3

1. Washington Irving, The Sketch Book, p. 168.

2. Ibid. p. 170.

3. Ibid. p. 172.

and it should be noted himself entirely as writing, with
 what the few have even known some of his experience. But
 the little words in the translation, as it were, are
 added, for the purpose of the native English, as a sign that
 the language had not been fixed.

It is not to be expected to reveal the secret of the
 language, but to reveal the secret of the language.
 On the other hand, the English language
 is not to be fixed to a single book, but to be
 fixed and changed. It is, consequently, the fate of the
 author, to find his language changed and obscure to later generations.

It is not to be expected to take the necessary pains to understand, but
 to find his language changed and obscure to later generations.

This constant alteration of language and the consequent
 obscurity of ancient authors is, I think, perhaps a
 desirable condition after all. If the vegetable kingdom pro-
 duces imperishable products, nature will over-run the earth.

Similarly, the records of the past will never be forgotten,
 the intellectual world will be filled and new discoveries
 will be made as naturally as the spirit of the past.

It is not to be expected a very heavy burden, but to be
 a very heavy burden. It is not to be expected a very heavy
 burden, but to be a very heavy burden.

1. Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, pp. 112-113.

2. Ibid. pp. 113-114.

the prestige of letters.

Our author considers it somewhat providential that the mechanical limits of book-production in the early days of the world placed a decided limit upon the intellectual output. Had it been otherwise, he admits the fear of a literary inundation. Now that the free use of paper and the press have removed that desirable restraint, Irving deplures the flood of publications and the unrestrained competition of authorship. There is something recognizably modern in this heartfelt outburst. Every generation is conscientiously warned of just this danger, never so great as to-day, yet the doleful prophecies never seem to be realized. Criticism, Irving thinks, may prove to be of some help in winnowing the literary wheat from the chaff. The critics, therefore, are entitled to their place in the sun, be they good or bad. Many a man of the period, he admits, may be tolerably well-informed, though he read little else than the reviews of the day. It is interesting to recall that our author, when offered a post on one of these same literary publications, declined the honor with the remark that he had no taste for controversy, literary or political. It is interesting to note, also, that he has little respect for the claims of the various commentators whose varying interpretations, he feels, merely cloud the beauty and significance of even Shakespeare himself.

1

The little folio shakes his parchment sides at the thought that a mere deer-stealer has succeeded in defying the

1. Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book*, p. 173.

2

Ibid. p. 174.

the writing of letters.

Our author explains it somewhat provisionally that the mechanical limits of book-production in the early days of the world placed a decided limit upon the intellectual output. Had it been otherwise, he admits the fear of a literary inundation. Now that the time has passed and the press has learned that beautiful printing, trying to secure the best of publications and the unrestrained competition of authorship. There is some thing peculiarly modern in this hearty statement. Every

generation is consistently varied of just this nature, never to be equal to itself, for the brilliant production never seem to be realized. Aristotle, living/imitate, say, move to be of some

help in vindicating the literary world from the charge. The criticism, are entitled to their place in the subject, but not on that, only a man of the world, he writes, say he certainly will-inform, though he need little else than the review of

the day. It is interesting to recall that our author, who claimed a post on one of these same literary publications, admitted the same with the remark that he had no taste for controversy, literary or political. It is interesting to note,

also, that he has little respect for the claims of the various commentators whose various insinuations, the whole, merely about the book, was significant of even Shakespeare himself. The little tale shows the present place of the

though that a more low-ability had succeeded in writing the I. Richardson living, The 3rd book, p. 113.

ravages of literary oblivion. But Irving rallies to the defense of the playwright and poet. If any writer shall survive, he maintains, it will be Shakespeare. Viewpoints change with the ages, but the poet makes his appeal to the heart, which is eternal and unalterable. The reader may seek escape from the bog of theological speculation or the dreary waste of metaphysics. But the poet touches nature with beauty. He is the master interpreter of what is most striking in nature and art. If beauty of language can ever retain its charm for succeeding generations, the apt phrase and lovely imagery of the poet is most likely to survive.

The untimely appearance of the old verger interrupted this lively exchange of views. The parchment-bound folio, with its little brass clasps, relapsed into silence. But we have profited by this delightful glimpse into an author's mind. He has granted us a few rare moments of intimacy and has emerged from behind the formalism of the day long enough for us to gain something of an insight into his literary convictions.

THE STAGE COACH

Irving knew that, if you would know a nation, you must not only live with it, but you must also travel with it. The stage coach could have been no new creation to this experienced traveller. But the observant eye, ever searching for the picturesque, and the sympathetic mind, ever seeking out the common touch of humankind, could ignore neither the English coach nor the English coachman. Here was an opportunity, too, to present

of the literature of the day, but having failed to find
 of the literature of the day. If any writer shall survive, he
 remains, it will be because. Viewpoints change with the
 age, and the age will be different, which is differ-
 ent and unchangeable. The reader has been asked first to
 the historical situation or the spirit of the age. The
 the poet has had to live with it. It is the reader's
 in what is most striking in nature and art. It is the
 can even let in the chaos for succeeding generations, the
 these will have the image of the poet as most likely to survive.
 The ultimate appearance of the old writer introduced into
 lively exchange of views. The narrowest-bound, with the
 little was done, raised into silence. But we have written
 by this method of giving into an author's mind. He has framed
 as a few moments of history and has engaged the
 the formation of the day long ago, for we are again something of
 an insight into his literary convictions.

THE PAGE CODE

living and dead, if you would know a nation, you must
 not only live it, but you must also know it. It is
 a sea which has been no new question for this century
 character. But the ocean eye, ever watching the horizon
 edge, and the expanding mind, ever seeing out the common
 source of movement, shall have reached the final ocean for
 the final ocean. Here we are in the present, too, to present

just those qualities of English character and scene of which every Englishman was justly proud.

The sketch is one of mood and characterization. Irving paints in the Christmas scene, with its attendant spirit of festivity and good will. The coach is crowded with passengers homeward bound, each with his quota of packages or hampers of game. But the coachman is chosen as worthy of most careful description, for he is the presiding genius of this important equipage. He is far more than a driver of a spanking team of mettlesome horses. He is a personage, envied of half the villagers who salute him as the coach whirls by. With his usual whimsical touch, Irving dwells upon the peculiarities of dress, speech, and manner, which make an English stage-coachman recognizable instantly as a member of the craft.

The enthusiasm of three public-school lads returning home for the holidays attracts the interest of all. There is characteristic exchange of school anecdote and much excited talk of Bantam, the pony, and old John, who is to meet them at the turn of the road. Not a traveller but envies them their lightness of heart and feels a reminiscent regret at the passing of his own school days.

There is a delightful picture of the kitchen of an English inn, done with the charm of style and attention to detail always associated with Irving. Highly polished copper and tin utensils adorn the walls and reflect the light from the broad fireplace. A smoke-jack clanks endlessly on the broad hearth, while a group

Just as one would expect of a man of his character and scope of vision every man should be a better man.

The watch is one of good and unexpected character.

It is the only one, with its own special kind of

activity and good will. The watch is provided with

hope and power, even with the single of power or

power. But the character is chosen as worthy of most

character, for he is the greatest of all the

characters. He is the one who is a driver of a

character. He is a character, and he is a

character. He is a character, and he is a

character. He is a character, and he is a

character. He is a character, and he is a

character. He is a character, and he is a

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character. He is a character, and he is a

character. He is a character, and he is a

of hungry travellers sit at a well-scoured deal table and consume vast quantities of beef and ale. Village gossips, pipe or tankard in hand, occupy the settle before the fire. Through a half-open door one catches a glimpse of a cosy private room, where the gentlefolk take their ease.

The significance of this sketch lies, not in its importance nor the new light which it throws upon English character or scene, but upon the charm and authenticity of this glimpse of England during the holiday season.

RURAL LIFE IN ENGLAND

One of the most discerning and informative essays in "The Sketch Book" is that entitled "Rural Life in England". To form a correct estimate of English character, Irving insists, it is necessary to study the English people in the country as well as in the metropolis. From the experience of his own Continental travels, he writes that in England all classes of society appreciate life amid rural surroundings, residing in the city only while business requires it, while in France or Germany, for example, wealth and fashion congregate in the large cities, leaving the country to a boorish peasantry.

He points out that a successful London merchant, once he has made his fortune in the City, acquires a suburban retreat where he indulges his passion for an orchard, or a garden. Even the dweller in the poorest sections of London will have his window-sill flowerpot, or his grass plot.

of many travelers all at a well-known hotel to dine and
 dine, very much as at the hotel and also. It is
 known in fact, every day, the battle before the time.
 all-when most one enters a dining of a copy prints room, which
 the general idea their case.
 a significance of this aspect is, but in its importance
 for the new laws which is more than and of course of course
 but upon the other and authenticity of this class of England
 during the holiday season.

WYLLIE IN ENGLAND

one of the most interesting and informative aspects in "The
 Wyllie Book" is the section entitled "Wyllie in England". In this
 section Wyllie of England's history, trying to make it as in-
 teresting to study the English people in the country as well as in
 the metropolis. From the experience of his own continental travel
 he writes that in England all kinds of a very interesting life
 and that the English people, especially in the city of London, are
 very different from the English people in the country. He says
 that the English people in the city of London are very different
 from the English people in the country, leaving the country to a
 certain degree.
 He also points out that a successful London merchant, once he
 has made his fortune in the city, recognizes a wonderful return
 to the country and his passion for an orchard, or a garden. This
 he writes in the present section of London will have his London
 life, however, on his own list.

But the Englishman in town is absorbed in his affairs. His naturally genial nature suffers an eclipse and he becomes self-centered and calculating. In the country he throws aside formality and gives free rein to his natural spontaneity. He builds charming country homes, which he fills with every luxury and refinement he can secure. His parks and lawns are world-famous for their landscaped beauty. He has an instinctive eye for a lovely vista and will take the utmost pains to provide it where possible. Nor is this appreciation of out-door beauty confined to the aristocracy. The simple cottager delights in the velvet green of his little grass plot and spends many hard-won hours in the cultivation of his trim box hedge. Climbing vines turn his cottage into a picturesque bower and reflect the quiet contentment of the laborer within.

1

With simple directness Irving writes: "I do not know a finer race than the English gentlemen. " He is deeply appreciative of the manly qualities of a class which takes pride in its physical fitness and wholesome simplicity of manner. Nor is this example without effect upon the nation as a whole, for this mutual love of country life serves to bind the lower classes more closely to the upper than in any other country in the world. Irving notes, however, that the larger estates have absorbed many acres formerly owned by the small yeoman, whom poverty has dispossessed.

2

Love of nature permeates English literature more than that Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book*, pps. 106,107,110.

of any other nation. Chaucer and Shakespeare continually revealed an amazingly comprehensive and accurate knowledge of English flora and fauna. British poets have shown their feeling for nature in some of their most exquisite lines.

To an American, English scenery may appear drawn to rather a small scale. Compared with the grandeur of an American mountain range, or the vastness of its level plains, an English landscape might seem monotonous, were it not for the quiet charm of its cultivated background, where every house is a delight to the eye and every turn of the road presents a miniature landscape of its own.

Irving's love for the peaceful and the venerable is evident in every line of this little sketch, and nothing better illustrates the cosmopolitan viewpoint of the man. Americans of the period affected to admire only the practical and the new, a characteristic which often laid them open to criticism from subjects of old world countries, who could see only the apparent vulgarity of such a viewpoint, failing utterly to realize that it was a natural attitude in a new, rapidly-developing country.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE SKETCH BOOK

The author of "The Sketch Book" was actuated by a particular purpose in the writing of these informal sketches, a purpose directly traceable to his familiarity with English life and letters. Charles Dudley Warner gives it as his opinion that: "Irving wrote the book with a distinct object. He set out to

of any other nation. Chaucer and his contemporaries are continually revealing to us an amazingly comprehensive and accurate knowledge of Britain and Europe. British poets have shown their feeling for nature in some of the most exquisite lines.

To an American, English poetry may seem to be a single realm. It is the product of an English culture, and the essence of its level of mind, an English language. It is not the product of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits. It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits. It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits. It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits.

It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits. It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits. It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits. It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits. It is not a matter of the poet's mind, but of the culture which he inhabits.

CRITICAL REVISIONS OF THE BOOK

The author of "The English Book" was assisted by a number of friends in the writing of these critical revisions. The author of "The English Book" was assisted by a number of friends in the writing of these critical revisions. The author of "The English Book" was assisted by a number of friends in the writing of these critical revisions.

THE ENGLISH BOOK

change the spirit in which America regarded England". This spirit in England "was misrepresented and misunderstood, and there was a good deal of bad blood that was the result of ignorance and prejudice."

It is typical of the cosmopolitanism so natural to Irving that he should indulge in just such a crusade. He recognized the essential heritage of English custom and language, realized that the more intelligent of his own countrymen tacitly, if not openly, admired much that was fine in the English character. Conversely, he knew that if America and Americans could be more acutely and fairly presented to Englishmen than was customary in English letters, or in the reports of travellers, the better-class Englishman would form a more favorable opinion of this rapidly developing country.

The very fact that an American was proving himself capable of writing with charm and distinction, and was actually making an international reputation for himself in the field of letters, was a matter of never-ending amazement to many an English commentator. England had assumed a virtual dictatorship in English literature, and it was a never-ending source of satisfaction to Irving that he, an American, was compelling English literati to admit him within the pale.

Since "The Sketch Book" was widely read by English and Americans alike, and universally applauded by each, it is evident this bit of literary propaganda was achieving precisely the result intended. But Irving possessed too lofty and sincere a character to be satisfied for a moment with a purely partisan purpose.

change the world in which we live. This spirit
of England "was misinterpreted as a misunderstanding, and there was
a good deal of bad feeling that was the result of a misunderstanding
of the spirit."

It is typical of the cosmopolitanism necessary to living
that it should include in just such a spirit. He recognized the
essential part of English culture and language, realized that
the more intelligent of his own countrymen, especially those who
were, pointed out that was true in the English character. However,
it is true that if the English and American people are to be
truly friends, it is necessary that we should be friendly to
each other in the same way. The best of English literature
would form a core of the English spirit of this rapidly developing
country.

The very fact that an American was writing himself capable
of writing with charm and distinction, and was actually writing so
intelligent material for himself in the field of letters, was
a matter of never-ending amazement to many an English connoisseur.
England had assumed, without discussion in English literature,
that it was a more refined source of good letters to which
we, as Americans, were copying English literature to read and
write the same.

Since "The English Book" was widely read by English and
American alike, and universally applauded by each, it is evident
that the literary programs and activities presented in the
book were not only interesting and helpful, but also a great
asset to the English and American people.

His genuine love for English character and institutions, while it never induced him to become an Anglophile, did motivate him so completely that his sketches were considered models of fairness and accuracy by the English themselves, while at the same time they presented to Americans an England which had long been clouded by prejudice and ignorance.

I have commented upon certain selections from "The Sketch Book" because I consider them typical of his writings in this work in matter, in manner, and in purpose. In "The Boar's Head", "John Bull", "Mutability of Literature", "Rural Life in England" and "The Stage Coach", Irving has presented phases and characteristics of life in metropolitan and rural England, as he observed and evaluated them. His comment is illuminating, sympathetic, and characteristically tactful. He emphasizes the best qualities of English nationality, which he knew would appeal to any Anglo-Saxon with an open mind. He often touched upon the influence of tradition upon the English mind and associates it with some historic shrine or treasured observance which he praises as an ennobling influence upon the national consciousness.

The sketch "English Writers" is frankly partisan, but the theme is handled with such tact and restraint that its controversial elements do not rob it of its literary appeal. Long residence in both countries and a sympathetic and intelligent understanding of human types and current opinion in each made it natural for Irving to turn to such a subject. It peculiarly reflects the cosmopolitan spirit of the author's temperament and a far broader

viewpoint than was in evidence in either country at the time; it would never have been written had not contact with some of the best minds in England convinced him that some appeal ought to be made to similar elements of the population in America.

"The Broken Heart" was based upon an incident of the times whose pathos had aroused the sympathy of all Britain. In this theme Irving saw an opportunity to write upon a subject already of interest, which was admirably adapted to his pen. The sketch received wide praise at the time, but it is of interest to-day chiefly as an illustration of the current demand for sentiment, written with grace and sympathy.

RECEPTION OF "THE SKETCH BOOK" IN ENGLAND

American appreciation of "The Sketch Book" determined Irving to seek an English publisher. He turned to John Murray as the most logical literary representative in London, but Murray was dubious about the success of the work in England. The author thereupon sold his English copyright to Miller, who unfortunately failed before many copies of the work reached the public. In his extremity Irving turned again to Scott, who unhesitatingly praised the work as outstanding in originality and charm of expression. Upon the direct request of Sir Walter, Murray reversed his decision and published "The Sketch Book", whose instant and wide popularity proved to him that he had previously been in error. By such a narrow margin did Irving succeed in impressing his merits as a writer upon the critical

British public, which now received him with enthusiastic approval. A current English weekly remarked: "When we read the description of English scenery in "The Broken Heart", we are apt to think that description is Mr. Irving's forte, but we are presently convinced that his prevailing power is in natural and sweet pathos."

BRACEBRIDGE HALL

The success of "The Sketch Book" relieved Irving of immediate financial care and prepared the way for future literary successes. In need of a change of scene, Washington and his brother Peter spent a part of the year 1820 upon the Continent, making their headquarters at Paris, where Irving formed a lasting friendship with Thomas Moore, the Irish poet. With renewed vigor Irving now turned his thoughts upon his next literary venture, and the popularity of his sketches of English life decided him further to exploit that field. He decided to give unity to this new work by the introduction of various characters, as did Addison, in which he felt the English public would again recognize the human embodiment of many of their most cherished virtues.

He chose Yorkshire as his locale and created a group of character types typical of a conservative, rural English family of the landholding class. He made the Squire his central character. Eccentric, "rusticated" though he was, he was a staunch upholder of those noble qualities which Irving considered so admirable in English life and so peculiar to England itself. A

younger son at Oxford, an older son in the British army, represented careers typical of landed English families. Julia Templeton, the Squire's ward, introduced the necessary element of romance into the narrative. Master Simon, self-constituted authority upon every phase of country life, from hunting to heraldry, was the counterpart of many a well-placed Englishman whom Irving had met as a guest at English country homes. Lady Lillcraft and General Harbottle were immediately recognizable as the faded belle and the convivial ex-army officer seldom missing at family gatherings. Always mindful of the picturesque, Irving drew sympathetic portraits of the Housekeeper and Old Christy, family servants long associated with the Squire's household. Not wishing to ignore the sturdy English yeomanry, he also introduced Ready-Money Jack, whose cherished independence and unique costume always called forth admiration.

In the foreword to "Bracebridge Hall" Irving warns us that the presence of characters by no means indicates an attempt at a novel. Each sketch, or narrative, is illustrative of some English characteristic which the author intends to stress. As he often states, Irving is interested in the social and historical aspects of the country and wishes to comment upon them with the fresh interest of a foreigner thoroughly sympathetic to country and people. Long residence in England and his ancestry, as well as early education, predisposed him to a theme which he was so well qualified to develop.

"THE HALL"

In this introductory sketch the author present to us a fine old English country residence or manor-house, together with its ^{Sir} eaually fine old master. It is a typical half-timbered structure of somewhat rambling construction, with wings added to the original building during prosperous periods of the family's history. With his love for the outdoor world, Irving gives us a charming picture of an old formal garden, with its curiously trimmed hedges, stone balustrades, and gay garden plots. He is at pains to assure us that the Squire is not a member of the hard-riding, hard-drinking, fox-hunting school. His worst fault, it would seem, is "a bigoted devotion to old English manners and customs". He is kind-hearted, immensely proud of his ancient ancestry, and positively scornful of the newly-created nobility. Mindful that future sketches will supply the reader with necessary details of background and character, Irving merely suggests in this the atmosphere which he wishes to recreate.

"THE BUSY MAN"

As one soon discovers upon further acquaintance with Master Simon, the title of this sketch is ironical. Master Simon is the personification of unsuccessful industry. A bachelor, he is able to indulge unreproved every whim and croquet. As the Squire's representative, he is armed with considerable authority over the household, and as a man of leisure, he is enabled to express his

talents in a variety of ways. He is a self-styled authority upon hunting and falconry and has a costume for every branch of sport. He possesses a flute and a violin and is a devotee of old English music, but no one considers him a successful musician. He believes himself an able artist with the pencil, but his landscapes are far from notable. A bustling little man, he is busy from dawn to dark upon errands of fancied importance.

Yet there is one who refuses to recognize his genius or admit his superiority. Old Christy, who was in the Bracebridge stable long before the Squire was born, resolutely disputes his orders and contradicts his assumption of knowledge. A wiry old fellow, testy and opinionated, he can narrate the details of every fox hunt for the last sixty years and he it was who taught Master Simon all that he knows about the stable and the hunt. Irving makes him out a perfect type of the old family servant, who has served so long that he considers himself the equal of any in the family.

A conference between the two is interrupted by the arrival of an imposing cavalcade which winds down the elm-shaded avenue. It is led by an imposing elderly lady, in broad-brimmed beaver hat and ancient riding habit, mounted upon a sleek white pony. A uniformed flunkey rides behind her and the procession is concluded with a clumsy old coach, of ancient pattern and luxurious appointments. A prim lady's maid of forbidding demeanor is visible from within. It is none other than Lady Lillicraft, the Squire's sister, come upon a visit. Her arrival is the signal for great activity upon the part of Master Simon, and we are made to realize that

here indeed is a personage.

Irving presents these character types with his usual whimsical ingenuity. Contriving never to give offense, he yet amuses his readers by delineating their peculiarities. Beyond question, they are prototypes of many English people whom he has encountered and he knows that his English readers will recognize them as such.

"FAMILY SERVANTS"

The theme of this sketch is in reality loyalty and service. The author considers the old family servant symbolical of these qualities of English character and he is at great pains to depict the affectionate relationships existing between an English rural family and its servants. There is much of the old feudal spirit in their pride of service and each of them is proud to be associated with the ancient family which he serves.

Not the least important is the old housekeeper, in her starched ruff, laced stomacher and full petticoats. She is the epitome of simple dignity, and quite the richest of the servants, for she has inherited the savings of her mother, who was housekeeper before her, and is said to possess a chest full of golden guineas. An authority upon the family history, Mrs. Wilkins can tell you the life story of each portrait in the gallery. Master Simon himself takes pains to keep in her good graces and the Squire himself never sits down to dinner without handing her a cup of wine from which to drink the health of the family, as his father did before him.

Irving concludes his sketch by quoting two epitaphs which he has copied from an old country churchyard. Each is a tribute to the loyal service of some ancient domestic and each bears witness to the strong affection existing between master and man. We must not expect, he adds, to find this fine spirit in every English family. It only exists upon their ancestral estates and cannot be found in the more sophisticated atmosphere of London.

"THE WIDOW"

Irving gives us a delightful portrait of a fine lady of the old school in "The Widow". Lady Lillicraft, the Squire's sister, lives much in the past, as does her brother. As a young lady, she was the toast of London for two years, but the ravages of smallpox put an end to her social career and she retired to her country estates, where she has remained for the greater part of her life. Incurably romantic, she is deeply read in the novels of every period, but insists that "Pamela" and "Sir Charles Grandison" have never been equalled.

Much of her time is spent in personal adornment and she gives much thought to the richness of her costume and the tint of her complexion. She has never remarried and holds that the modern beaux cannot compare in manly grace with the gentlemen of her early acquaintance. Master Simon pays her flattering attention, for he is accustomed to visit her house whenever he tires of life at the Squire's. In short, Irving gives us a portrait

of a very human old lady, a little pathetic, a trifle ridiculous, but eternally true to life in any age or any clime. It seems needless to add that Irving never could have entertained us with such whimsical and accurate depictions of English character types, had he not frequently encountered them in the flesh during his long sojourn in England.

"FAMILY RELICS"

Realizing that personality is often revealed quite as much by inanimate objects as by speech or act, Irving in this sketch give us rather detailed descriptions of the library and the portrait gallery at the Hall. In spite of his Oxford degree, the Squire is little of a bibliophile, confining his reading largely to works on agriculture and hunting. Most of the volumes found in the library are novels and they have been read largely by the romantic youth of passing generations, if one may judge by the written comment upon the margins of their pages. Ardent love passages seem to have pleased them most. Among the poets this same passion for the love theme seems to have existed and the windowpanes of library and bedroom are covered with poetic quotations etched thereupon by the diamond of some infatuated belle or gallant.

But it is the portrait gallery that Irving holds up to us as most significant of family tradition and pride. Here is a kind of pictorial narrative more suggestive than words. Take, for instance, this portrait of a little girl, in billowing skirt and picture hat, with a hoop under her arm. Master Simon tells us that she was

a famous beauty of the family, an assertion fully borne out by the portrait next seen, which shows her in her wedding gown.

This group of portraits represents four sisters, equally famous for their charm and beauty, who held court in the old Hall a hundred years ago. Here is a gallant colonel in full regimentals, the husband of the belle mentioned, who, alas, fell upon a foreign battlefield. As Irving presents these portraits he makes the reader feel that he is in reality showing us a kind of pictorial history of England, for the history of the nation is after all but the history of innumerable English families of which this is a type.

"AN OLD SOLDIER"

One of the most picturesque of the guests at the Hall is old General Harbottle, typical of the retired British military man who has seen more years than service, but who made the most of his few encounters and nourished a fierce spirit of militarism. He has served in India and upon the Continent, but was promoted and laid upon the shelf when the need for real leaders asserted itself. But he must uphold the dignity of the Service and the social graces of the man of arms, which he accomplishes with a great air of distinction. None can equal him as a gourmet and a judge of old vintages. He is met with everywhere at fashionable gatherings and he is courtesy personified to the ladies, though given to frequent profanity in private. Irving must have met many of the type at garden parties and week-end hunting meets and

he presents him to us as a typical member of English society.

"READY-MONEY JACK"

Irving gives us one of his most vivid personalities when he introduces the yeoman, Ready-Money Jack. Small, independent farmer that he is, he cherishes his family traditions as zealously as the Squire himself. He is proud most of all of his name, which stands for thrift and successful industry. His credit is as good as any man in the county, for he always pays his bills promptly in cash, whence his name. The author describes his appearance in great detail, that we may understand how a prosperous English farmer of the period looked. In his youth, he was a famous athlete and could always throw his man in a wrestling bout, or put him to rout at pitching the bar, or at cudgel play. His farm is a model of neatness and efficiency and he himself is industrious and shrewd. Slow of thought and sparing of word, he is nevertheless a solid, substantial subject of old England and stands for all that is best in the men of his class.

Irving shows us the cordial relations existing between the classes in the rural districts by including Ready-Money Jack in the list of the Squire's cronies. They converse upon equal terms on hunting and agriculture, each with a proper respect for the merits of the class which the other represents. The author frequently comments upon the good feeling existing between independent farmers and the landed aristocracy, no doubt that his American readers may realize that democracy may exist even in a

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land ruled under aristocratic principles.

"THE STOUT GENTLEMAN"

To give variety to the series of sketches entitled "Brace-bridge Hall" Irving has the Squire indulge in the good old English amusement of story-telling, by which device he abandons his familiar characters for a time, and amuses us instead by some old tale which he has heard, or by some experience of his own. This sketch is one of the few whose inspiration is directly traceable to an experience of the author in England. His friend Leslie writes: "Toward the summer of 1821 I made a delightful excursion with Irving to Birmingham, thence into Derbyshire. The night was fine, so we continued to Oxford. The next day it rained and we were confined to the Inn, like the nervous traveller whom Irving describes in 'The Stout Gentleman'. When he visited Stratford on Avon Irving was busy writing this tale. He wrote with the greatest rapidity, often laughing to himself, and from time to time reading the manuscript to me. The inimitable picture of the inn-yard on a rainy day was taken from an inn where we were afterwards quartered at Derby."

The thread of narrative in this sketch is slender, its interest being dependent upon the suspense of the reader as to the identity of the "stout gentleman". It is descriptive of the experience of a nervous gentleman, whom Irving makes the narrator, and who is marooned in an inn at Derby on a rainy Sunday. Absolutely without diversion in this gloomy atmosphere, he turns

for amusement to the guests of the inn. One of them, referred to by the servants as "the stout gentleman", remains aloof in his room, having his meals served there and proving to be a very exacting and irascible person indeed. The maid leaves the room in tears after a reproof, but the landlady, who interviews her guest as to the cause of the maid's bad treatment, comes down stairs smiling broadly. Altogether, he is a very aristocratic and mysterious person indeed, who quite dominates everyone. The nervous gentleman awakes in time to glimpse the posterior portion of the mysterious gentleman's anatomy disappearing through the coach door, but he never does discover his identity. Under the skilled treatment which Irving gives, it is a very amusing and a very aggravating situation indeed.

The real value of the sketch lies, however, in its exceptionally vivid description of an inn yard on a rainy day. As a bit of descriptive writing, this sketch ranks with anything that Irving ever wrote. He succeeds admirably in reproducing the gloomy surroundings and in depicting the dripping and depressed farm animals and fowl who are quartered therein. His whimsical manner of treatment is effective and humorous in the extreme.

"GENTILITY"

In this sketch Irving strikes a note of greater seriousness, for he is really lauding the virtues of the English landed gentry, whom he genuinely admired. The Squire's creed is that of the best type of English gentleman, to whom honor, manliness, kindness and

For argument to the point, the fact that, referred to
 of the nervous as "the great unknown", remains clear in his
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 their writing ability. Although, he is a very experienced
 an expert, a person indeed, who quite familiar everyone. In
 certain respects, seemed to him to know the great the great
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 and a very great the great indeed.

The best value of the great fact, however, in its excep-
 tionally vivid description of human form on a page 84. As a
 of descriptive writing, this great book with writing with
 writing the great. He speaks clearly in respectful, clear
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 writing the great and a - historical writing. His historical writing
 of treatment is effective and human in the extreme.

"GENERALITY"

In this section having struck a note of greater emphasis
 for he is really looking the views of the human mind
 that he originally meant. The writer's error is that of the best
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good breeding were far more than mere abstractions. Perhaps that rather hackneyed term "noblesse oblige" would sum up his attitude accurately, a philosophy of life with which Irving heartily sympathized.

The occasion that calls forth this presentment of the Squire's beliefs is the departure of his son Guy as an officer of the British army. The Squire asserts that military life would be merely a butcher's trade, were it not leavened by such qualities of character as bravery, patriotism, and ambition. He warns his son to avoid the coldly indifferent pose fashionable among officers at the time, and assures him the true qualities of an English gentleman are inbred and do not change.

Through the mouth of the Squire, Irving attacks the polished hardness of Chesterfield's philosophy. "Many of Lord Chester- 1
field's maxims would make a young man a mere man of pleasure; but an English gentleman should not be a mere man of pleasure. He has no right to such selfish indulgence. His ease, his opulence, are debts due to his country, which he must stand ready to discharge. He should be a man at all points; simple, frank, courteous, intelligent, accomplished, and informed."

"THE STUDENT OF SALAMANCA"

This is a narrative of considerable length, not a sketch. It is told by a bold Irish captain of dragoons and is an example of the romantic tale so well liked in Irving's day. It concerns
1. Washington Irving, Bracebridge Hall, p. 555.

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a young Spanish student of noble blood named Antonio de Castros, an old Spanish gentleman absorbed in a search for the ancient formula for the transmutation of base metals to gold, and his charming daughter Inez. The villain of the piece is a dissolute Spanish nobleman named Don Ambrosio. The scene of the action is the old Spanish city of Granada.

Antonio, while rambling about the old ruins of the town, catches a glimpse of the fair Inez and immediately falls in love. As the lady is characteristically Spanish in her attitude toward strangers, Antonio is unable to see her, until a misadventure of the old Alchemist, who is severely burned in his laboratory in an old tower, as the result of his experimentations, gives him an opportunity to burst in the door and rescue the old gentleman. After this, Antonio joins the old man in his chemical research and becomes a member of the family. But his suit does not prosper and he is astonished to find her in conversation with a gallant stranger one evening in the garden. He cannot believe her guilty of a clandestine adventure, but is forced to accept the evidence of his own eyes.

One evening the house is invaded by strange men, who seize the old alchemist and his daughter. The father disappears, while the daughter is carried to the palace of Don Ambrosio, who has marked her for his own. Inez learns through a young gypsy dancer, one of the Don's former sweethearts, that her father is on trial by the Inquisition as a necromancer. Don Ambrosio tells her that, if she will accede to his wishes, her father shall be

saved, but she scorns to win her father's release at such a price. Meanwhile, with the aid of the gypsy, she escapes from the palace and wanders into the square of Granada in time to see her father in a procession of prisoners on their way to the auto da fe. When she pleads with the monks for her father's life, she is seized by Don Ambrosio, who has discovered her there, and is accused by him of madness. Just as she is about to be dragged away, Antonio appears, wounds Don Ambrosio in an encounter, reveals his relationship to the Grand Inquisitor, who releases the old Alchemist. The romance ends fittingly with the marriage of the lovers and Antonio reveals his identity as a wealthy nobleman of Spain.

The narrative is written in the colorful manner of the romantic tale and the author does full justice to its dramatic possibilities. The action is rapid and the suspense well sustained, while Irving handles the Spanish background of the tale with the sympathy and understanding which he later displays in his narratives of that country. Characters and background are typically Latin and the tale undoubtedly shows the influence of Irving's continental ramblings and the literature of the countries which he visited.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF "BRACEBRIDGE HALL"

"Bracebridge Hall" further established the literary reputation of Washington Irving, both in Europe and America. A comment of Charles Dudley Warner is pertinent here. He wrote: "He--
Irving--was sought by everybody. His writings won for him the

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1. Charles Dudley Warner, Studies of Irving, p. 48-49.

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CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF "BATTLED FOR HELL"

"Battled for Hell" ...
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entry to the highest social circles in the kingdom, where he was welcome as a friend and not as a curiosity of a day, and his footing was equally good with his brethren of the quill. To mention his companions would be to name most of the literary lights of the time, and his relations with many of them were those of the most cordial friendship."

Irving has attained a finish of style that surpasses that of "The Sketch Book". He writes with the polished ease of the established literary man and his imagination and humorous whimsicality are never better illustrated. As a critic of life, he is penetrating but never caustic; sophisticated without being cynical. He has taken old material, as he writes in his introduction, but he has handled it with a charm and distinction that have won the admiration of all.

CONTINENTAL RAMBLINGS

In order to understand the source of Irving's inspiration for his next work, "Tales of a Traveller", it is necessary to follow him to the Continent, where he sought rest for a period of a few months. His health, never robust, had suffered severely as the result of his sedentary life. He suffered from a tormenting cutaneous malady which made walking impossible and irritated him out of the mood of composition. All his life afterward he was assailed by this and it accounts for much of his occasional depression.

August of 1822 found him journeying from one German spa to

entry to the highest social circles in the Kingdom, where he
 was received as a friend and not as a curiosity of a day, and
 his feeling was equally good with his position of the day. To
 mention the occasion would be to name part of the literary
 life of the time, and his relations with any of them were
 those of the most cordial friendship.

Living has retained a habit of some years' standing, that
 of "The Scotch Book". He writes with the ability of a poet,
 established literary man, and his history and biography. His
 ability was never better illustrated. His knowledge of life,
 in particular that never ceases; cultivated without being
 artificial. He has taken of an artist, as he writes in his intro-
 duction, but he has handled it with a brain and that freedom that
 give you the character of art.

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 ous and dangerous ailment which was waiting for the first
 fatal blow of the hand of opportunity. All his life he had
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 nervous system, and it is a disease of the nervous system.
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 nervous system.

another. Always he is interested in the human types characteristic of the locality. At Mayence he writes his sister in England: "I have taken a bath at the old philosopher's, who is quite original; an author, a lawyer, a chemist--had I known the old gentleman a little earlier he would have given me some excellent hints for my alchemist." At Baden he was much interested in a vast, subterranean torture chamber in the old castle, while the Black Forest stirred him to romantic imagings.

Irving spent six months at the Saxon Court at Dresden. He was made much of by the royal family and the society of the capital, and his note book abounds in interesting particulars of his daily experiences. On his return to Paris in September of 1823, Irving found himself out of spirits and unable to accomplish any serious literary work. In order to occupy himself somewhat, he collaborated anonymously with his American friend, John Howard Paine, in adapting to the English stage the French play *La Jeunesse de Richlieu* and a play in three acts, adapted from *La Jeunesse de Henry Cinq*, which he rechristened *Charles the Second*. Payne sold both these plays to the Covent Garden Theatre in London. *Charles the Second* was produced successfully in May, 1824, but *Richlieu*, brought out in 1826, was not successful. Here again chance, and his residence in a foreign country, had directed the course of his literary output.

"TALES OF A TRAVELLER"

"Tales of a Traveller", which Irving completed in 1824,

resembled his other work in that it consisted of sketches and tales supernatural or romantic in character. Irving limited himself to this field of literature as yet because he believed himself most effective in it. With the exception of his "History of New York", he had established his reputation by the success of his sketches and romantic tales, while his recent Continental ramblings had furnished much new material to be exploited in this field. He divided his material into four sections, each containing tales of a particular type.

Part First of these tales dealt much with the supernatural, a theme in high favor when superstition still ruled the minds of many. He introduces his characters as guests at a hunting dinner in an English country house. The guests are detained over night by inclement weather, a device which enables him to begin his story-telling in a most natural manner.

"THE ADVENTURE OF MY UNCLE"

An old gentleman, inspired by the storm and the darkness, is persuaded to tell a ghost story, which concerns the travels of his uncle in Normandy. The uncle, overtaken by night while on his travels, bethinks himself of his friendship with a French marquis whose castle he knows is somewhere in the neighborhood. Disinclined to spend the night in a miserable country inn, he decides that he would much better seek the castle of his friend. The Marquis receives him hospitably and the talk after dinner naturally turns upon the past glories of the Marquis' family. The nobleman does

full justice to the glories of his race until the uncle, quite overcome, desires to retire for the night. The room assigned him is in a tower in the most ancient part of the castle. Numerous famous historical personages have occupied it and the Englishman, an intrepid soul, is glad to occupy it also, in spite of the grimaces of the wrinkled old French servant who ushers him to bed.

Unable to close the door leading into the corridor, the uncle builds a roaring fire in the great stone fireplace and clambers into bed. His thoughts busy with the day's events, he is just losing consciousness when his attention is attracted by a light footstep in the corridor. A servant about his duties, he decides, and gives the matter no further thought. But the steps approach, a female form in white enters the open door and crosses to the fireplace. Her dress is of ancient pattern, with full skirts and reaching to the floor. She is tall and of a most commanding presence, with a face whose whiteness cannot conceal a remarkable beauty. The ghost, for it is a ghost, warms herself before the fire, clasping her hands in supplication, then glides from the room.

The old gentleman awakes the next morning and demands an explanation from the Marquis. Walking through the former's portrait gallery, he recognizes the likeness of his midnight visitor. This, it seems, is the portrait of the Duchess de Longueville, and the narration of her importance and adventures consumes the remainder of the morning. She had lived more than a century

before and had played an important part in the civil war of the Fronde. Her husband, the Duke de Longueville, had been captured. The Duchess, trying to arouse the Normans to the rescue, was threatened with imprisonment herself. To escape this, she left her castle at night in a tempest and attempted to board a vessel at the coast, together with her retinue. The storm prevented the attempt and she had instead sought refuge at the castle of the Marquis, to whose ancestors the fair Duchess had been related. The Duchess had occupied the tower room. Something tragic had occurred to her, but what it was the Marquis refused to divulge. When the Englishman told him that he had received a visit from the lady's ghost, the Marquis refused to credit him, and the conversation came to an abrupt conclusion.

"THE ADVENTURE OF MY AUNT"

This is another tale of the supernatural which must have had many a counterpart in English wonder stories. It is of rather slight significance and requires little comment. In brief, it tells of the nocturnal adventure of a particularly strong-minded widow, who moved to a manor house in the desolate Derbyshire hills, much to the dismay of her servants. As she sat alone before her dressing table one night, she happened to glance at the reflection in her mirror of her late husband's portrait, which hung upon the wall directly behind her. It seemed to her that one of his eyes winked at her. She contrived to cover her eyes with her hand, under pretense of dressing her hair, and studied the portrait more

closely. Again she thought she detected a movement of one of the eyes. After busying herself quietly for a moment about the room, she opened the door and left the room.

Arousing the servants, she returned with them to her room and ordered them to tear down the picture. At this, a hollow groan came from behind the portrait and the servants scattered from the room in alarm. Driving them back, the intrepid widow compelled them to obey her orders. The displaced portrait revealed a former servant of the household, whose trembling hand clutched a knife of formidable appearance. He offered no resistance and was quickly removed from the premises.

This tale is scarcely more than an expanded anecdote. While it is of little literary value, it does illustrate the author's ability to tell a tale delightfully, for he makes the most of a rather slight situation, and gives it dramatic interest and convincing characterization sufficient to hold the interest to the end.

"THE BOLD DRAGOON"

The background of this tale of the supernatural is the ancient city of Bruges in Flanders, which Irving had visited in his recent travels in France. He describes the quaint, gabled houses with a stork's nest in every chimney, the broad-faced vrouws with their white caps and starched skirts, and the stolid, shrewd-eyed men, with a pipe as their constant companion.

The Irish captain of dragoons is the narrator and his old

dragoon uncle is the hero of the tale, which occurred in the days when the English were fighting in the Low Countries. The bold dragoon on his way back to England finds himself at Bruges, with a hostile population unwilling to give him entertainment for the night. At length he stops at a little inn, before which a rich burgher of Antwerp, a little distiller from Geneva, and the bottle-nosed host were taking their ease. A bluff old soldier, he ignores their rebuffs and compels them to give him refuge for the night. He cracks jokes with the good vrouw, chucks the landlord's daughter under the chin, regales them with stories of the wars, and wins their enthusiastic approval by the time he has been there an hour.

He is lodged for the night in an attic room, which is used as a repository for old furniture. The room is filled with old, broken-down chairs, a huge clothes press, a sofa, tables with curiously carved legs, and all the discarded lumber of generations. The bold dragoon climbs between sundry feather beds, but his numerous potations and his naturally warm disposition makes it impossible for him to sleep. He arises and wanders about the inn to cool himself. As he returns to his own quarters, he catches a weird, wheezy strain of music, apparently coming from his own room. He enters silently and discovers a thin, bearded old gentleman in a night-cap, who has an old, broken-down bellows under his elbow and is playing it as if it were a bagpipe. Two richly-upholstered chairs are dancing about the room in each other's arms. The shovel and the tongs are solemnly engaged in a minuet, while a three-legged

stool does a solitary hornpipe in the corner. Not to outdone in jollity, the bold dragoon seizes the cumbersome clothes-press by the handles and drags her about the room. Instantly the confusion ceases. The old man vanishes up the chamber, each article of furniture returns sheepishly to its accustomed place, and the room presents a quiet appearance as before.

But the fall of the bold dragoon to the floor, when the handles of the clothes-press come away in his hand, arouses the whole house and landlord, chambermaid, the rich burgher, and the pretty barmaid all throng to see what has happened to the bold dragoon.

Irving seizes the opportunity to give us a delightful description of an old Flemish barroom, with its brick floor, its blue Delft platters on the walls, the great fireplace on whose colored tiles appear scenes of biblical history, and other details peculiar to the country. He is particularly apt in his unusual ability to create atmosphere and charm and make them possess all the authenticity of the original. His dialogue, as his characters express themselves in the tale, is amusing and always pithy and quite in character. Had Irving chosen to turn novelist, it is my considered opinion that he would have been successful, in spite of his habitual self-distrust.

"THE ADVENTURE OF THE MYSTERIOUS PICTURE"

The next three tales are closely related in thought, as they all revolve about the personality of a strange Italian

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nobleman whom the English host has encountered in Venice. There is much humorous banter about haunted chambers, but the baronet refuses to divulge which one of the guests is to occupy the haunted room, if there is one. He does, however, suggest that there is something mysterious about one of them, though he leaves it for some unlucky guest to discover for himself.

The nervous gentleman is unfortunate enough to draw the unlucky room. He retires almost at once, but before he does so his attention is attracted to a portrait over the fireplace. It is the face of a man, with a white, strained look that is strongly repellent. The eyes are black and sombre; there is blood upon the cheek. The nervous gentleman is strongly affected by the picture and cannot dismiss it from his mind. It suggests more than ordinary horror and human misery and the plain, black frame sets it off with distressing realism.

After some hours of restless tossing, the nervous gentleman abandons the chamber, seeks refuge upon a sofa in the drawing room, and succeeds in passing the remainder of the night in dreamless sleep. In the morning there is much pleasantry about the failure of the ghost to materialize, but the nervous gentleman proves unable to enter into the spirit of the conversation. At length he confesses his experience regarding the picture, upon which his host apologizes for making him the object of his experimentation, but admits that everyone has felt the same reaction as himself when gazing upon the portrait. The company express interest and amazement and demand the expected

story.

"THE ADVENTURE OF THE MYSTERIOUS STRANGER"

In this narrative Irving draws much upon his familiarity with Venice and Italian history and custom. There is much of Italian subtlety and tragic intrigue, so characteristic of the life of the nobility of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The narrator of the tale is the English baronet, who had gone as a young man to Venice on the grand tour, after his graduation from the University. He is delighted with the mysterious romance of the place and haunts all kinds of strange places in his search for adventure.

At the casino on the grand square of St. Mark, while sipping an ice one evening, he encounters a young Italian whose extraordinary manner interests him intensely. The youth is tall and slight, with every appearance of refinement. But his pale, emaciated features reveal an inner wretchedness that compels attention. His black eyes are expressive of unutterable woe. After seeing him upon various occasions, the young baronet is attracted to this unhappy young man and seeks his assistance in penetrating the mysteries of Venice.

The English baronet and the young Italian become intimate friends, but there is always a wall of reserve separating them which nothing can break down. The Italian craves human companionship and sympathy, but he will not reveal the cause of his misery. On the contrary, when importuned to take the young Englishman

"THE ADVENTURE OF THE BROWN BOOTS"

In this narrative I have drawn upon my own

own experiences and Italian history and legend. There is much

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into his confidence, he becomes wildly excited and begs him never to refer to the subject again.

Even the gaiety of the Carnival fails to lift him from his depression, but the music of a cathedral choir during Passion Week affects him to tears. Early the next morning the baronet is awakened at an early hour by the strange youth, who announces his intention of going upon a long journey. His manner seems almost resigned and he warmly thanks the Englishman for his sympathy and interest. As a memento of their friendship, he leaves with him a packet, not to be opened for six months, which he tells him will explain all that he wishes to know. With the solemn assertion that the baronet will never see him again, the young Italian passes out of his life forever.

At the conclusion of this tale the guests have all realized that it concerns the original of the portrait which caused such keen distress to the nervous gentleman the night before and are all agog to learn the secret of the mysterious Italian with the tragic face. Suspense has been sustained in a masterful way and the romantic flavor of the tale is developed to the full.

"THE STORY OF THE YOUNG ITALIAN"

The story of the young Italian might have been taken from the pages of Boccaccio, as far as its romantic theme is concerned. It has to do with noble lords and ladies, the Church, intrigue and violent death. But there the analogy would have to end, for sly suggestion and lascivious innuendo are certainly

into his confidence, he becomes fully excited and takes his way to refer to the subject in.

Even the safety of the family is left to him from the moment, but the music of a sentimental opera during the time he is to leave. Early the next morning the peasant is awakened by the noise of the carriage bell, was surprised at the intention of going upon a long journey. His woman seems almost resigned and he nearly thinks the engagement for his evening and interest. As a moment of their friendship, he leaves with his a parcel, not to be opened for six months, which he tells him will explain at that he wishes to know. With the solemn assurance that the peasant will never see him again, the young lady passes out of his life forever.

At the conclusion of this tale the guests have all retired that it concerns the ending of the festival when a messenger has been directed to the kitchen to bring the letter which all eyes to find the name of the mysterious Italian with the magic tone. The name has been enclosed in a magical envelope the romantic flavor of the tale is heightened by the will.

"THE STORY OF THE YOUNG ITALIAN"

The story of the young Italian might have been taken from the pages of Goethe's, as far as the romantic is made concern- ed. It has to do with the young Italian, the French, in- trigues and violent death. The theme the author could have so- lid, for the suggestion and favorable incidents are certainly

not literary tools which Irving ever cared to use. In a period not too notable for its delicacy of thought, Washington Irving wrote with a freedom from vulgarity which will always redound to his credit.

The plot of the narrative, as I have already suggested, might easily be centuries old, though Irving presents the action as almost contemporary. The hero of the piece is a young Italian nobleman, a younger son. The father's interest centers about his eldest son and he has nothing but chill indifference for the youngest. After the death of the mother, the father sends the lad to a monastery of which his brother is the superior. Life here is austere and monotonous. The young monk returns home, overhears his father arranging his return to the monastery, and flees from his father's house in the night.

After a passage to Genoa, the young Italian finds himself without funds, but is fortunate in engaging the attention of a celebrated artist there, who discovers unusual talent in the lad and takes him into his household as a pupil. He soon acquires a reputation as a painter of female faces and is employed by the painter on an historical fresco in one of the palaces at Genoa. This mural painting is to contain likenesses of members of the noble family which own the palace and a young daughter of the household is brought from a convent to sit for her portrait. The young Italian falls deeply in love with her, but conceals his passion, as he considers himself now without either wealth or position. His artist patron soon dies and leaves his estate

to his pupil, whom he places under the care of a noble patron. His new friend, the count, soon invites him to visit him at his villa in the country.

The young painter and Filippo, the count's son, become fast friends. A daughter of a relation of the count, left without father or mother, comes to reside with him. Amazement is mutual when the young painter recognizes Bianca, the young noblewoman whose portrait he had painted at Genoa. Love and courtship follow, and Bianca promises to become the painter's wife, when news comes to him that his father is dying and wishes to see him. Promising to return, the young Italian departs homeward. Months pass before the father dies, but the separation is made endurable by the exchange of letters, through the good offices of Filippo. Letters from Bianca come at first, but they become less frequent and finally cease altogether.

At length the death of the father releases the young painter and he hastens to return to the villa, with some foreboding, but hopeful that all will be explained. He finds Bianca in the garden. She faints upon beholding him and repulses his endearments when she regains her senses. She manages to explain that Filippo had told her that her lover was dead and that she had been persuaded to marry him. Filippo had never delivered his friend's letters to Bianca at all. The young painter catches sight of Filippo in the garden, rushes to him, and stabs him in uncontrollable rage at his perfidy. Then the wretched painter rushes from the scene. Pursued by his conscience, remorse completes his ruin. Everywhere

he sees the face of the slain Filippo. In an effort to forget it, he paints the face that haunts him, but no relief comes to him. After his meeting with the English baronet, the young painter decides to give himself up to the authorities and to pay the penalty of his wrongdoing.

Part Two of "Tales of a Traveller" is particularly reflective of Irving's life in England as a young author. He takes obvious delight in describing favorite literary haunts with which he is familiar and he also pokes a bit of fun at the idiosyncracies of certain aspiring writers of his acquaintance and at the obtuseness of some London publishers. He creates an imaginary character--Buckthorne--to serve as a foil for his remarks and in his various sketches he gives the reader most interesting impressions of the literary scene as known to a young author to whom it was thoroughly familiar.

"A LITERARY DINNER"

The inspiration for this amusing sketch comes directly from his friendship with the poet Moore, whom he met while in Paris. Moore had described to him an annual dinner given by Longmans, the London publishers, to their literary dependents. With his imaginary friend Buckthorne Irving attends a dinner given by this celebrated pair of brothers. The seating at table is of the greatest significance, the post of honor going to a well-known poet of the day. Other literary celebrities are seated in the order of their literary importance, those "below the salt"

being held in slight esteem by the knowing publishers.

Conversation at this brilliant event goes by fits and starts, no one paying particular attention to the witticisms of the celebrities, except for one of the brothers, who never fails to laugh uproarously at anything said. Buckthorne remarks privately to his friend that this is "the laughing brother", whose duty it is to laugh at all the jokes. The other brother is "the carving brother", who attends seriously to the business of serving his guests and pays not the least attention to anything else.

In boredom at this rather dull party, Irving's attention is called to a shabbily dressed author who occupies a place at the lower end of the table. He contributes little to the conversation, but is completely engrossed with eating and drinking. After dinner a cloud of inferior authors appear, not important enough to be invited to dinner, but permitted to share in the tea and cakes. Irving looks about for the poor devil author, as he describes him, but finds that he has left and immediately follows his example.

As an example of the formal entertainment given by English publishers in London, this dinner is a delightful bit of humorous composition. It reveals the absurd jealousies and sensitiveness of the literary folk and the seriousness with which each regards his own place in this artificial little world. Needless to say, Irving fails to take it with the expected seriousness.

"THE CLUB OF QUEER FELLOWS"

Under this suggestive title Irving introduces us to the Bohemian side of authorship in London. The "club" is merely a cheap public house in London, to which anyone can gain admission upon payment of a shilling. Here, to his joy, Buckthorne discovers the poor devil author and is delighted to discover in him an old schoolfellow named Dribble. The poor devil author is in his element at the club and keeps the table in a roar with his witticisms. He later explains that here he is king, but that he knew it would be a waste of time to attempt to attract attention at the rich publisher's dinner.

The two call upon Dribble at his lodgings a day later, which are in the slum district made famous as the writing-abode of Oliver Goldsmith and are located in "Green Arbor Court". This famous district is a rabbit warren of narrow courts and passageways. It is a region of washerwomen and long lines of drying linen make entrance difficult. At the top of a long flight of stairs is the lodging of Dribble. A hack writer of little literary reputation, Dribble is inclined to stand on his dignity, but he soon finds that he is regarded as a hero by his visitors and consents to relate his literary adventures, which he does in the following tale.

"THE POOR DEVIL AUTHOR"

In this very human little narrative Irving describes the

proud indifference of the London publisher to prospective literary talent, an attitude which he himself had experienced at the hands of Murray, who refused to publish "The Sketch Book" until Scott had interceded in Irving's behalf. At the same time, the author manages to inject his usual vein of humor into the tale, which illustrates the very common experience of an unsuccessful author in London.

Dribble describes the village Literary, Scientific and Philosophical Society of which he was a leading member and which was, indeed, the inspiration of his belief that he was destined for a literary career. With the manuscript of a poem in his pocket, he departs for London. So sure is he of success that he has already decided that he will demand a thousand guineas for his work. Selecting a leading publisher as the fortunate one, he enters his luxurious office with fine disdain. Brushing past a clerk who attempts to stop him, he presents himself before the great man who, apparently, is unaware of the honor, for he continues to write industriously at his desk without lifting his head. After standing unnoticed for several minutes, the poet departs from the room in high dudgeon.

Finally he does succeed in gaining a moment's notice from a minor publisher, who tells him to bring back his manuscript in a month or two, but warns him that there is little demand for poetry anyway. Convinced at last that his great poem "Pleasures of Melancholy" will not bring him immediate fame, the author decides that he will try a popular ballad which he may be able to

sell. It occurs to him that Jack Straw, the old peasant leader of rebellion, will be a perfect subject. A tavern companion agrees enthusiastically with this, but when they walk the fields together alone, he suddenly demands his purse and leaves the poet destitute. The ballad that is to make him famous is never written, however, for the poet can never concentrate upon it. At last he decides to eschew the literary life and to turn hack writer. From the moment of this decision new happiness comes to him. He is moderately successful and is always sure of a living, humble though it be.

"BUCKTHORNE"

Abandoning for a time his literary recollections, Irving now gives us a tale of English schoolboy adventure introducing many characters of humble life, with his friend Buckthorne as the hero of the narrative. The lad is the heir of a miserly and eccentric old uncle, who lives in a ruined manor-house with sadly neglected lawns and trees. There is also a boorish, red-headed youth who runs wild about the place, an old servant, and his daughter who comes into the house to prepare the meals. Buckthorne spends an occasional week with his uncle, who receives him with less hostility than he receives most people. An early love affair with a beautiful young lady of the neighborhood comes to a disastrous end when the aforesaid young lady gives his poetic effusions to her mamma.

One day, while at his Uncle's, young Buckthorne is seized

well. It occurs to him that Jack Brown, the old peasant lawyer
of reputation, will be a perfect subject. A tavern companion
agrees enthusiastically with him, and when Jack and Tighe
together alone, he suddenly dashes his knife and leaves the poor
devils. The belief that he is some kind of a hero is
however, for the next day he is seen again at the tavern
decided to enjoy the literary life and to turn back again
from the moment of this incident his happiness seems to him. He
is naturally cheerful and is always sure of a living, which
though it is

"MORTIMER"

Appended for a time to literary reflections, Irving
has given us a tale of English society, a translation
of the character of noble life, with the English, French and
part of the narrative. The tale is the story of a man and a
his life, who lives in a village, whose wife is a
faded woman and weak. There is also a portrait, red-
doubtless, who lives with her, and his
character and comes into the world to give the world. Irving
stands in occasional work with the world, and receives the
has faith that he receives each good. An early love affair
with a beautiful young lady of the neighborhood seems to be
broken off when she marries a young lady gives all possible
to her.

by a poetic whim and composes a poem in which he likens his uncle to an old ogre and the manor house to a haunted castle. The poem is lost and never found, but the lad thinks no more about the matter. A holiday visit to a neighboring fair with his schoolmates proves too great a temptation to Buckthorne, who abandons his school in favor of a career with a troupe of players. It is his first experience of the realities of life and he learns much he did not know before about human nature. He lives with the Clown, Harlequin, the manager's wife who plays romantic parts, and falls in love with Columbine, whom the Clown greatly desires. The Clown takes full advantage of his part in the play to belabor young Buckthorne, who one day resents it and fells him to the floor. A riot ensues, in which all the players and spectators take a part. The result is the dismissal of Columbine and Buckthorne. As they wander about London, constables recognize Buckthorne as the lad they have been instructed to find and he is dragged away protesting to his father's home.

His fox-hunting father now receives his son with new interest and respect and tries to bring him up at home, always reminding him that he is a lad of great expectations. He next sends him to Oxford, but Buckthorne is more concerned with sports and the lighter side of undergraduate life than he is with study. The old gentleman dies, Buckthorne abandons his University career, and goes to London in the character of a smart man about town. He follows a fashionable young lady to her home in a cathedral town, intending marriage, but at a ball he suddenly finds himself the object

The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the work done during the period covered by the report. It is divided into two main sections, the first of which deals with the work done in the laboratory and the second with the work done in the field.

In the laboratory, the work was done in two main directions. The first was the study of the properties of the material under investigation, and the second was the study of the effect of the various factors on the properties of the material.

In the field, the work was done in two main directions. The first was the study of the effect of the various factors on the properties of the material, and the second was the study of the effect of the material on the properties of the material.

The results of the work done in the laboratory are given in the following tables. The first table gives the results of the study of the properties of the material under investigation, and the second table gives the results of the study of the effect of the various factors on the properties of the material.

The results of the work done in the field are given in the following tables. The first table gives the results of the study of the effect of the various factors on the properties of the material, and the second table gives the results of the study of the effect of the material on the properties of the material.

of unexplained mirth, in which his sweetheart joins. Further investigation discloses the presence of the young lady whom he had first adored, who is telling everyone how this fashionable young man had toured England as a common street player. In confusion Buckthorne leaves town and returns home unwed.

Shortly after his return he receives word that his uncle is dying. The old man receives him with satisfaction and points, in his last moments, to a box near the bedside as containing his will. After the funeral, Buckthorne calls in the doctor and lawyer and opens the box in the presence of the servants. The will leaves everything to the red-headed boy, who is his son as the result of his marriage to the old servant's daughter. A note, with a whimsical statement that a poet will not need any fortune anyway, explains the action of the old miser and the great expectations are never realized.

"GRAVE REFLECTIONS OF A DISAPPOINTED MAN"

This sketch gives Irving an opportunity to indulge in the romantic pathos of which he was master. Modern taste, of course, is inclined to consider this as so much fine writing and sentimentality, but we must not forget that the people of Irving's time considered pathos a mark of refinement and a sure proof of a writer's ability.

The author portrays Buckthorne, destitute and repentent, weeping over his mother's grave and bewailing his wasted youth. He makes a solemn resolution to turn to authorship in all

seriousness and starts for London in an entirely new mood.

"THE BOOBY SQUIRE"

Buckthorne in London is seized with a great desire to discover how the red-headed youth conducts himself as a country squire. He disguises himself as a cattle drover, as he has heard that the new squire prides himself greatly upon his herd, and presents himself as a seller of cattle. He finds the new squire, dressed in rural splendor, entertaining a rough company of local neer-do-wells, and is invited to drink with him. Somewhat in his cups, the booby squire tells the story of his uncle's will and makes great sport of the disappointment of Buckthorne, whom he does not recognize. Buckthorne manages to laugh with the rest, but when the drunken squire makes an insulting remark about his mother he promptly knocks him down. The two are separated and adjourn to the lawn to finish the bout. Just as the encounter is about to begin, Buckthorne makes himself known. The squire, dull as he is, realizes that Buckthorne is only doing what he himself would do in his place, and apologizes handsomely, offering the latter a place in his household. A reconciliation is effected, but Buckthorne returns to London to continue his literary career, where the author leaves him.

Part Three of "Tales of a Traveller" has an Italian setting and is obviously inspired by Irving's recent journey through Italy. In the disturbed state of the country at the time the traveller was often beset by bandits, so that everyone who returned from

journeying there considered such encounters an important part of his experience. In England, under a strictly enforced code of criminal law, such lawlessness had largely disappeared, but the highwayman had become a legendary and romantic figure of real literary value.

"THE INN AT TERRACINA"

This sketch sets the stage, as it were, for the action of Part Three. An inn at Terracina serves as a natural meeting-place for travellers of various types and nationalities, while their tales of the atrocities of the banditti give convincing emphasis to the theme of this part of the work.

As for the characters, there are the fair Venetian and her husband, who are celebrating their recent marriage by a trip to Rome. Mine host, of course, is everywhere and everything. A government messenger gallops up to the inn, minus his breeches and mail sack. He has just encountered a formidable band of robbers and escaped with his life. No sooner has he continued his journey with a new pair of breeches than an imposing landaulet, laden with servants, much luggage, and an English gentleman, arrives. He is brusque and imperious, demanding fresh horses for immediate continuance of his journey to Fondi.

The landlord recounts the danger of robbers, narrates the encounter of the government messenger with the bandits, and begs the Englishman to remain over night and to continue his journey under a proper escort. The Englishman jeers at the robbers,

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...the second ...
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"THE END OF THE WORLD"

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V. B. B. C. O.

thinks them a device for increasing the revenue of a scheming landlord, but is finally persuaded to remain the night.

Irving gives us an amusing description of a typical Italian meal, which is not at all to the taste of the English palate. The macaroni is smoky, the steak proves to be tough buffalo's flesh, even the eels, which the Englishman enjoys, turn out to be vipers, greatly esteemed in the neighborhood. The fair Venetian and her husband join the Englishman at dinner and there is much talk of banditti. A Roman surgeon joins the group and through him we learn that it is almost impossible to put an end to this reign of terror, because of the fact that the banditti are recruited from the village youth all over Italy, while the peasantry of every mountain village furnish them with information of wealthy travellers journeying through the mountains. Their spies are everywhere and the gendarmes cannot stir without the robbers being aware of it. A little Neapolitan lawyer now contributes an amusing tale.

"THE ADVENTURE OF THE LITTLE ANTIQUARY"

This humorous narrative illustrates the better side of the bandit character. The little Antiquary delights to ramble through the mountains of the Abruzzi in search of ruins. His greatest treasure is his bundle of notes, which he carries in a special pocket of his breeches. As he wanders one day in the mountains he suddenly becomes aware that he is surrounded by a group of rough young fellows, who insist upon taking him with them to an

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... which gives us an accurate description of a typical ...

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THE STRUCTURE OF THE ...

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inn. There they drink and make merry, the little Antiquary wondering all the while when he is to be robbed or murdered.

At last the party breaks up and the moment of separation arrives. The leader of the robbers reassures the little Antiquary, telling him that he knows his profession perfectly and is aware that his purse is slim indeed. He will be allowed to pursue his investigations in peace, but is warned that the next group of banditti he encounters may not prove as generous, so perhaps it would be better if he kept away from the mountains.

Irving now breaks the continuity of his tale by introducing into the group Messers. Hobbs and Dobbs, two Englishmen "in trade", who are full of the adventures of the Popkin family.

"THE ADVENTURE OF THE POPKIN FAMILY"

In this tale of romantic adventure the author presents an account of the misadventures of a pompous Englishman who is a London Alderman and a mighty man of business at home. He is typically contemptuous of everything and everybody Italian and is convinced that one lusty Englishman can put to route a dozen starveling bandits.

The family, likewise, is typically English. There is Madame Popkin, a stout dowager, her two romantically inclined daughters, and the son, who has learned to box at the University and welcomes an encounter with the robbers. Irving delights in poking fun at this pretentious family, which illustrates so well the attitude of the English traveller abroad. The carriage is a magnificent

example of workmanship; innumerable bags and boxes attest the wealth and importance of this Englishman, whose self-importance so impresses the Italian landlord that he addresses him obsequiously as "My Lord".

The Alderman is advised to procure an escort through the mountains, but scorns the idea. He will appeal to the English ambassador if he is attacked, and war between England and Italy may easily result if he is molested. The carriage passes through several narrow defiles and the Englishman's sense of security and contempt for all Italians rises accordingly. At length they reach a long ascent and Alderman Popkin descends to stretch his legs. He outdistances the toiling horses and comes to the summit of the hill, where he sees a solitary goatherd seated upon a rock. He approaches to engage him in conversation, but immediately regrets it when he discovers how sinister an individual he appears.

The stranger arises and greets him, but the anticipated talk never does materialize, for sudden screams and shouts down the road attract the Alderman's attention and he turns to find a band of robbers looting his carriage and roughly treating his family. Popkin, though pompous and overbearing, is no coward, and starts furiously to the rescue, but is seized by the goatherd, who presents a pistol at his head and demands instant silence. Only the sudden appearance of soldiery prevents the kidnapping of the party and the Popkin family is fortunate to escape with their lives.

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This tale of insult to England stirs Messers. Hobbs and Dobbs to high indignation, and the beautiful Venetian is reduced to a state of weeping terror. But the urge for story-telling is fast upon the little group and a young Frenchman, who has recently joined them, adds his bit to the general tale of horror.

"THE PAINTER'S ADVENTURE"

Irving adds interest to this tale by introducing us to the most polite Italian society. He describes an Italian villa in the Albanian mountains, the home of a prince, where every luxury and amenity of life is enjoyed. The young Frenchman who tells the story of his adventures is an artist who lived until recently under the patronage of the prince.

The noble family is somewhat apprehensive of a strong band of robbers which has been seen recently in the nearby mountains and which has acquired an unusual reputation for boldness. A commotion in the villa one evening, while dinner is in progress, sends the young artist to investigate. He scarcely reaches the corridor below when he is seized by a robber, who asks him if he is the prince. At once the young artist realizes that this is a case of kidnapping for ransom, but he resolves to mislead his adversary and to escape if possible. As the robber is alone, the artist suddenly grasps his throat and has all but throttled him when another appears and deals him a stunning blow upon the head. He is hurried away, with one of the servants, to the mountains.

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The fifth is the fact that the...

The sixth is the fact that the...
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The eleventh is the fact that the...

The twelfth is the fact that the...
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The fifteenth is the fact that the...

The sixteenth is the fact that the...
The seventeenth is the fact that the...

The eighteenth is the fact that the...
The nineteenth is the fact that the...

The twentieth is the fact that the...
The twenty-first is the fact that the...

When the bandit chieftain discovers that he has failed to capture the prince, he is enraged and threatens death to the young artist, whose coolness prevails, however. The servant is sent back with a ransom note and the bandits encamp for the night.

Irving utilizes this tale to give us much detail about the appearance and characteristics of these lawless men. He tells us how certain inn-keepers serve as allies to the banditti, arranging a signal at the inn door to warn the robber if anyone hostile to him is within. It is not unusual, it appears, for a single traveller to seek refuge at such an inn, only to be murdered for his money when he believes himself secure.

The young Frenchman is cool and adroit and manages to win the goodwill of the bandit chieftain by flattery. He informs the leader that he is much too able a man to be engaged in such a hazardous occupation, that he could succeed anywhere without the risk of danger. The chieftain, it appears, is tired of the role of robber, and relieves his mind by telling the artist how he came to engage in such an unsavory business. Thus the author prepares us for another tale of romantic adventure.

"THE STORY OF THE BANDIT CHIEFTAIN"

This sketch is merely an anecdote which explains why many a hardy fellow became estranged with the authorities and took to the mountains. It hints at the petty despotism of the Italian officials and really explains why the peasantry for the most part favored the banditti as an expression of resentment against

misgovernment.

The bandit chieftain had been the son of a prosperous farmer, whose family had been unfortunate enough to incur the dislike of an Italian police chief. This police official showed his hatred by many acts of injustice. In a moment of rage, the young man waylaid the official and stilettoed him in true Latin fashion. Condemned to the galleys by the local prince, he managed to escape to the mountains and soon formed a band which preyed upon the locality in revenge.

Irving now resumes the tale of the young artist's adventures. The prince has sent a note for the artist's ransome, but the chieftain demands cash, as he considers it impossible for any member of his band to negotiate the note safely. While they are awaiting the second return of the servant acting as intermediary, the band waylays a peasant in true robber fashion, takes his provisions but pays him twice their value, and dines hilariously upon bread and cheese, a bag of boiled chestnuts, and a small barrel of wine.

The young French artist has noted the melancholy appearance of one of the younger robbers, whose conduct indicates that he is struggling under some severe mental burden. He persuades him to confide in him and the "Story of the Young Robber" is the result.

"THE STORY OF THE YOUNG ROBBER"

In this tale the author illustrates the stern code of

Government.

The benefit of the act of a government
is not to be measured by the amount of
money which it has been able to raise
or by the number of its subjects. The
benefit of an act is to be measured
by the amount of happiness which it
produces in the world. It is not
the amount of money which it raises,
nor the number of its subjects, which
determine its benefit, but the amount
of happiness which it produces.

It is not the amount of money which
it raises, nor the number of its
subjects, which determine its benefit,
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THE THEORY OF THE LONG MARCH

In this life the only happiness is the

loyalty which binds together the typical Italian robber band. The safety of all demands absolute obedience to the chief. The failure of ransome must mean death to the victim, for it is the only weapon of extortion which the robbers possess. Plunder must be shared upon an agreed basis, if each member of the band is to be satisfied. That a bandit occasionally found himself in circumstances which severely tested his loyalty to his chief must be quite apparent. Irving has drawn upon his fund of Italian reminiscence to bring out this point in the following narrative.

The young robber was the son of a small tradesman of Frosinone, a village near the mountains of the Abruzzi. Destined by his ambitious parent for the Church, the young man's tastes incline him toward a gayer life. As a young man of good manners and appearance, he aspires to the hand of the daughter of the local prince's land bailiff. Her father discovers the budding romance, scorns the youth as below him in station, and presently announces that his daughter will wed a rich farmer in a neighboring town.

Furious at this, the youth encounters the bridegroom in the village market place, quarrels with him, and stabs him to the heart. Fleeing to the church for asylum, he remains there until a robber leader hears of his plight, comes secretly to his retreat, and persuades him to join his band.

Not long since the band haunted the vicinity of Frosinone. The thought of seeing Rosetta fills his mind and the young robber steals away to a vineyard near her house. He finds her

Loyalty which binds together the typical Italian worker bands.
The safety of all depends absolutely on the safety of the
Italian of tomorrow that will help in the victory, for in the
only weapon of strategy and the workers of mass. It is the
the worker of the day, if any number of the day is
to succeed, that in front especially today. It is the
conscience of the worker that is the only one
to give strength. It is the only one that is
remains to give out the light in the following narrative.
The worker of tomorrow is the son of a small fraction of the
state, a village near the workshop of the industrial revolution.
In the village of the day, the young man is raised
in the spirit of a man. He is a young man of good nature
and energetic, he carries all the best of the
local village's land. He is a man of the village
village, especially young he believes in justice and
an atmosphere that his father will be a rich farmer. He
is a man.
In the village of the day, the young man is raised in
the village of the day, the village of the day, the village of the day.
the heart. It is the only one that is the only one that is
with a father of the day of the day, the day of the day.
the heart, and it is the only one that is the only one that is
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there, but she is terrified at the sight of him and shrieks for aid. Her cries attract the bandit chieftain, who insists that she be taken into the mountains and held for ransom. The thought that the girl he loves must be abandoned to the ill-treatment of the band maddens him, but he does not dare to try to save her.

The robber captain first claims her as his own and compels the youth to join his companions at a distance. When he seeks to save her from the rest of the band, the bandit chieftain cocks his rifle and threatens to kill him for disobedience. Meanwhile a messenger sent to her father returns with the father's decision that as the robbers have now violated her she may as well die. Death is decreed and the young bandit pleads to be the one to execute the sentence, as he believes that he may be able to save her unnecessary pain. As she sleeps, he plunges his knife into her heart, thus suffering the supreme pang of killing the girl he loves.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF "TALES OF A TRAVELLER"

Washington Irving sold "Tales of a Traveller" to the publisher Murray for 1500 guineas. It was not as well received, either in England or America, as had been his previous work. Its similarity of theme to his previous work disappointed a public which had come to accept with complacency his brilliant style and sparkling humor. The tales were called "labored and over-refined in style, whereas they had actually been tossed off

rapidly."

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The somewhat cool reception of his latest literary effort was keenly felt by the sensitive Irving. It developed, indeed, one of the major crises of his life, for discouragement beset him and he found it impossible to write. He clearly realized that he must offer something other than humorous tales and sketches that had been so well received in the past.

It is true that he had produced nothing new to whet the literary appetite of an easily jaded public. The "Tales" were fully up to the standard of his previous work, but the theme of most of them was by no means novel, as Irving had himself admitted in the introduction to the work. He hoped, he wrote, to bring a fresh interest and new viewpoint to his material, and the grace of his style was as delightful as ever, but these virtues, which undoubtedly did exist, were not sufficient to excite his readers to the required pitch of interest. His recent travels in Italy and Germany had undoubtedly been the inspiration for this work, but his English and American readers were not under the spell of foreign travel, as he was, and there was neither similarity of race nor familiarity of scene to attract them.

IRVING TURNS HISTORIAN

In this mood of depression and uncertainty Irving was greatly influenced by the suggestion of his friend Alexander H. Everett, then United States Minister to Spain. Everett had written him urging him to make an English translation of Navarrete's

1944

The committee has been studying the various aspects of the problem of the Negro in the United States. It has held many public hearings and has received many suggestions from the public. It has also conducted extensive research into the causes of the Negro's economic and social position in the United States.

In the past few years, the Negro population in the United States has increased rapidly. This increase has placed a heavy burden on the economy and has created a serious social problem. The Negro's economic position is one of the most serious in the world. He is generally employed in the most menial and least desirable jobs. He receives the lowest wages and has the fewest opportunities for advancement. His social position is also one of the most degrading. He is often treated as a second-class citizen and is subject to discrimination and prejudice.

The causes of this situation are many and complex. They include the historical legacy of slavery and segregation, the economic structure of the United States, and the social attitudes of the white majority. The Negro's economic position is the result of centuries of exploitation and discrimination. He has been denied the opportunity to acquire property, to receive a good education, and to participate in the economic life of the country. His social position is the result of centuries of prejudice and discrimination. He has been treated as an inferior race and has been denied the same rights and opportunities as the white majority.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In this report, the committee has set forth its findings and its recommendations. It believes that the Negro's economic and social position in the United States can be improved only by a comprehensive program of economic and social reform. This program should include the following measures:

"Voyages of Columbus", which had just been published by this eminent Spanish historian. The possibilities of such a work appealed to Irving as a new medium of literary approach. It promised to develop a more serious vein of writing which might recapture the languishing interest of a fickle public. The richness and color of Spanish life and history, too, awakened a response in his romantic nature which was not to be denied. In spite of Murray's refusal to publish such a manuscript, sight unseen, Irving decided to undertake the work and departed for Madrid in February, 1826, on a mission which was to lead him to still greater heights of literary fame and accomplishment.

The work of historical research which was to follow was congenial to Irving and he was splendidly equipped to undertake it. During many years of European travel, Irving had devoted much time to the study of French, German, Spanish, and Italian. In his conversation he always deprecated his ability as a linguist, yet his innate modesty led him to underestimate his talents, as his friends well knew. He was particularly proficient in the Spanish language.

As an aid to his research work, Everett made Irving an attaché at the United States Ministry. Irving well knew the value of a diplomatic status as a practical aid in a European country, but his own literary reputation and gracious personality were even more potent in endearing him to the Spanish people of all classes. Upon reading Navarrete's "Voyages of Columbus", he decided that it would be unwise to undertake its

translation, as it seemed to him "rather a mass of rich materials 1
for history than a history itself", by which he meant that he
considered the work lacking in popular appeal. Misled though he
was by the enthusiasm of Everett, his own interest in the extra-
ordinary personality of Columbus and in the warmth and color of
Spanish history itself decided him to undertake for himself a
history of Columbus and his voyages.

"THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS"

Irving used every available source of historical infor-
mation in writing his history of the life and voyages of Colum-
bus. He based his work largely upon the "Life of Columbus" by
Bishop Las Casas, the journals of Columbus, and original docu-
ments which he found in the Royal Library at Madrid, the Jesuits'
College of San Isidro, and the private library of O. Rich, the
American consul at Madrid.

"In the execution of this work", Irving wrote in his pre- 2
face to the "Life", "I have avoided indulging in mere specula-
tions or general reflections, excepting such as rose naturally
out of the subject, preferring to give minute and circumstantial
narrative, omitting no particular that appeared characteristic
of the persons, the events, or the times; and endeavoring to
place every fact in such a point of view that the reader might
perceive its merits and draw his own maxims and conclusions."

2. Washington Irving, Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, p.9.

1. Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, p. 257.

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This is a modern historical viewpoint amazingly in advance of current thought in Irving's time.

It is obvious that the work of research upon which the success of the "Life" so greatly depended could not have been undertaken outside of Spain. It is equally evident that Irving, by virtue of his literary judgment and his peculiarly fortunate social position, was just the man to undertake the work. I shall now turn my attention to the work itself, endeavoring to stress significant phases of the life of Columbus which Irving brings out with such vividness and interest.

Book One

Washington Irving begins his "Life" by taking up the birth, parentage and early life of Christopher Columbus. He gives his birthplace as Genoa and states that the famous navigator was born about the year 1435, the son of Dominico Colombo, a wool comber, and his wife, Susannah Fontanarossa. Later ~~claims to noble lineage~~ for Columbus seem to the author to have no justification and he quotes Fernando, Columbus' son, as saying: "I should derive less dignity from any nobility of ancestry than from being the son of such a father."

Columbus was the oldest of four children and showed an early inclination for a seafaring life. He received the usual instruction in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and Latin, showing particular proficiency in drawing and design. For a brief period he studied geometry, geography, astronomy and navigation at the

University of Pavia.

Geographical discovery was rife at this period and the discoveries of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa interested him deeply. Scientific knowledge was also stimulated by the recovery of translations of the early Latin and Arabian thinkers, among them Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Averroes and Alfraganus.

Irving makes it clear that historians have little real knowledge of the early life of Columbus. Certain facts are, however, established, At fourteen Columbus made his first voyage under a distant relative, Columbo, a naval commander of great reputation. He served under Columbo in an expedition to capture Naples for the Duke of Calabria, which proved unsuccessful. He is thought to have served, also, under Columbo the Younger, a nephew of the old admiral and a noted mariner in his own right.

The future navigator is living in an age of inspiring interest and achievement in geographical discovery, largely due to the enterprise and imagination of Prince Henry of Portugal. The re-discovery of the Canary Islands, the Fortunate Islands of the ancients, occurred in the fourteenth century. As the result of an African expedition, under his father, against the Moors, Prince Henry concluded that important discoveries might be made by sailing along the west coast of that continent.

Commercial rivalry also motivated the Portuguese leader. Venice and Genoa, through control of Constantinople, had risen to vast commercial wealth, for those cities were the termini of

the trans-Asiatic land route from India and China. Prince Henry hoped to divert this trade from Italian control by finding a sea route to these lands around the continent of Africa.

To develop the science of navigation Prince Henry instituted a naval college for the study of geography and navigation. Almost immediate results appeared. The compass was brought into general use and simplified in form. Charts were studied and new discoveries noted thereon. The tropics were penetrated, the African coast from Cape Blanco to Cape Verde was explored, and the Azores were re-discovered and properly located on the chart. Henry obtained a papal bull by which all discoveries in the Atlantic, to India inclusive, were to be enjoyed undisturbed by Portugal. This extraordinary man was not alive to see his greatest project realized, when Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1473, sailed a southerly course to India, and thus realized a sea route to this fabled land. Portugal became the leading seafaring nation of the world and assumed a national importance never before attained.

Columbus arrived at Lisbon about the year 1470. Irving describes him as tall and muscular, with a rather full face, fair complexion, and white hair. His manner was that of a man accustomed to authority. He was simple in his diet and attire, of a gentle and courteous gravity, and by nature profoundly religious.

At Lisbon he married Dona Felipa, daughter of an Italian cavalier who had been one of Prince Henry's leading navigators.

The trans-Atlantic line was first laid by Cable. Various other lines were laid in the same line as the Atlantic Cable. The first trans-Atlantic cable was laid in 1866. It was a telegraph cable. It was laid from New York to London. It was laid by the Great Eastern Company. It was laid by the Great Eastern Company. It was laid by the Great Eastern Company.

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His wife's mother, noting his interest in discovery, showed Columbus the charts and memoranda of her late husband and he thus became familiar with Portuguese naval accomplishment.

As to the grounds upon which Columbus based his belief in the existence of undiscovered lands in the West, his son Fernando classified them under three heads:

First, Columbus accepted the theory that the earth was a globe, which might be travelled from east to west. He accepted Ptolemy's division of the earth's circumference at the equator into twenty-four hours of fifteen degrees each. Comparing the globe of Ptolemy with that of Marinus of Tyre, he calculated that fifteen hours, extending from the Canary Islands to Thinae in Asia, had been known to the ancients. The Portuguese had advanced the western frontier one hour more by the discovery of the Azores and the Cape de Verde Islands. Eight hours, or one third of the circumference of the earth, remained therefore unknown. Much of this space might, reasoned Columbus, be filled by the eastern regions of Asia, a theory which made him believe that he had discovered India when he encountered the islands off the American continent.

Second, Columbus believed that he had the authority of Aristotle, Seneca and Pliny that the intervening ocean could not be of great expanse. The narratives of Marco Polo and John Mandeville, who had visited remote parts of Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, confirmed him in the belief that India stretched far to the east, occupying most of the unexplored

space.

Third, Columbus placed credence in the reports of numerous navigators, who reported various signs of land to the westward. Martin Vicenti, in the service of the King of Portugal, after sailing four hundred and fifty leagues to the west of Cape St. Vincent, had taken from the water a piece of carved wood which bore strange marks and had come from the westward. His own brother-in-law, Pedro Correo, had found a similar piece of wood on the island of Porto Santo, which had likewise drifted from the west. 1

Two happy errors, notes Irving, thus induced Columbus to venture upon his voyage; the imaginary extent of Asia to the east, and the supposed smallness of the earth.

That Columbus meditated his voyage of discovery as early as 1474 is shown by his correspondence with Toscanelli, a learned chart-maker of Florence, who sent him his hearty approval of the venture, together with his famous map, which Columbus actually used upon his voyage. This map was based upon the calculations of Ptolemy and Marco Polo and depicted the eastern coast of Asia in front of the western coasts of Africa and Europe.

John the Second ascended the throne of Portugal in 1481, inspired by the nautical achievements of his grand-uncle, Prince Henry. Under his direction his two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph, perfected the astrolabe, the mediaeval forerunner of the modern sextant, which enabled seamen to calculate, from the altitude of the sun, their distance from the equator.

1. ~~Washington Irving, Life and Voyages of Columbus, pps. 36-40.~~

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Two happy errors, notes Lyell, thus induced Columbus to venture upon his voyage; the imaginary extent of Asia to the east, and the supposed easiness of the earth. That Columbus meditated his voyage of discovery as early as 1474 is shown by his correspondence with Toscanelli, a learned character of Florence, who sent him his hearty approval of the venture, together with the famous map which Columbus actually used upon his voyage. This map was based upon the calculations of Ptolemy and Marco Polo and defined the easternmost of Asia in front of the western coasts of Africa and Europe.

John the Second ascended the throne of Portugal in 1481, inspired by the nautical achievements of his grand-uncle, Prince Henry, under his direction his two nephews, Sebastian and John, perfected the astrolabe, the medieval forerunner of the modern sextant, which enabled seamen to calculate, from the altitude of the sun, their distance from the equator.

Shortly after the improvement of the astrolabe, Columbus first sought the royal patronage of King John for his voyage of exploration. The King submitted the project to various learned men, who discouraged the attempt to sail westward in an effort to reach the coast of Asia. The Bishop of Ceuta suggested that King John send secretly a vessel to sail westward according to Columbus' chart, to discover if there were any merit in the plan. Such a vessel was dispatched, but after sailing several days in a westerly direction returned with the news that no land had been sighted. When Columbus learned of this treachery he refused to have further dealings with the King and departed secretly with his son Diego from Lisbon. The death of his wife and the attitude of the King determined him to dissolve allegiance to Portugal.

Book Two

Tradition asserts, writes Irving, that after leaving Portugal Columbus sought aid of both Genoa and Venice in furtherance of his enterprise, but that each of these governments was in such dire straits that it could afford no help. Columbus is definitely located in Spain, however, in 1485, where he is seeking to interest some of the wealthy Spanish nobles in his project. The Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi both considered Columbus' theories for a time, but the former finally considered them too visionary, while the latter, actually on the point of turning two or three caravels over to the navigator, was deterred by the realization that if a rich kingdom were

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discovered, the King of Spain would demand possession of it for himself.

Irving draws a brilliant picture of the glories of Spain at this period of her greatness. The union of Aragon and Castille by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella united the country politically and religiously. Spain now became a nation and under the inspired leadership of its joint sovereigns succeeded in throwing off the Moorish yoke, centuries old. Ferdinand was successful in accomplishing two other ambitions, the expulsion of the Jews and the establishment of the Inquisition.

Columbus was reduced to poverty when he arrived at Cordova to seek the aid of King Ferdinand. He was given an hospitable reception by Alonzo de Quintanilla, controller of the treasury of Castile, who became an ardent upholder of his theories. He could not obtain immediate audience of the sovereigns, who were then engrossed in their campaign against the Moors. During months of idle waiting he became acquainted with Antonio Geraldini, the Pope's nuncio, and his brother, Alexander Geraldini, tutor to the children of the Queen, a friendship which was of aid later in interesting Isabella in his projected voyage. Months later at Salamanca, through the influence of his host Alonzo de Quintanilla, he obtained an audience with the Grand Cardinal of Spain, the most important personage about the court. The Cardinal was greatly impressed with the earnestness and intelligence of Columbus and came to believe in the practicability of his ideas.

Through the influence of the Cardinal, Columbus finally gained his first audience with the sovereigns themselves.

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Ferdinand, a keen judge of men, at once recognized that Columbus was no ordinary dreamer, but a navigator and scientist of vast attainment. Not trusting his own judgment, he assembled the most learned astronomers and cosmographers in the kingdom for a conference.

Many of these learned men were Churchmen of high rank, as well as scientists. At the Council of Salamanca he found himself impeded by monastic bigotry, for his beliefs were opposed on religious grounds. Quotations from the ecclesiastical writer Lactanius were brought forth in which he asked if there were: "--any so foolish as to believe that there are antipodes with their feet opposite to ours: people who walk with their heels upward, and their heads hanging down?" St. Augustine was quoted as saying: "--to believe that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe would be to maintain that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean." Columbus found it impossible at this time to remove their prejudices and objections, so that he did not then have an opportunity to present his plan in its entirety. 1

In the year 1487 Columbus is still following the court in an effort to obtain another audience with the sovereigns. Ferdinand and Isabella are constantly on the move in pressing their campaign against the Moors and the only answer he can obtain is that neither money or time is available at present, but that he

Washington Irving, *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, p. 68.

Portugal, a keen study of man, at once recognized that Columbus was no ordinary discoverer, but a navigator and scientist of the first order. The discovery of the Indies was a great event, the new world, the new continents and continents in the region of the Atlantic.

Many of these learned men were Churchmen of high rank, as well as scientists. At the Council of Salamanca he found himself labeled by some as a heretic, for his beliefs were based on religious grounds. Questions from the ecclesiastical writer Las Casas were brought forth in which he asked if there were any so foolish as to believe that there are antipodes with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heads upward, and their heads hanging down? St. Augustine was quoted as saying: "--to believe that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe would be to maintain that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean." Columbus found it impossible at that time to remove their pretensions and objections, so that he did not then have an opportunity to present his plan in its entirety.

In the year 1492 Columbus is still following the ecclesiastical effort to obtain another audience with the sovereigns. Ferdinand and Isabella are constantly on the move in pressing their campaign against the Moors and the only answer he can obtain is that neither money or time is available at present, but that he

will receive further consideration when the war ends.

Columbus, disheartened at such treatment, left the Spanish court and sought refuge at the Convent of La Rabida. This chance visit was to prove a turning point in his fortunes. The prior, Juan Perez de Marchena, fell into conversation with him and at once recognized his worth. He called Garcia Fernandez, a learned man of the neighborhood, and Martin Alonzo Pinzon, head of a family of wealthy navigators, who were quickly converted to Columbus' beliefs. Friar Juan Perez knew that Columbus considered going to the French court for aid and decided to communicate with Queen Isabella, whose confessor he had been. A letter dispatched to the good Queen brought an immediate order for his presence and in the audience which followed Isabella showed great interest in Columbus and begged that he present himself once more at court.

Columbus arrived at court at the time of the surrender of Granada to Spain. He was favorably received by the sovereigns and persons of consequence appointed to negotiate with him. His theories had now won acceptance, but a new difficulty arose. Fernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, who had great influence with the Queen, persuaded her that Columbus' terms were impossible. Columbus demanded that he be made admiral and viceroy over all lands discovered and that he be given one tenth of all gains resulting from conquest or trade. The archbishop thought it absurd for an indigent foreigner, as he regarded Columbus, to demand such reward and insisted that, in case of

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failure, Spain would be the laughing stock of the world if she granted such terms. His influence swayed the Queen and negotiations were once more broken off and Columbus departed from court. Eighteen years of his life had been devoted to fruitless search for aid.

Again it was the friends of Columbus who turned the tide. Luis de St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon, sought audience with the Queen. He reminded her how other powers had increased national prestige through discovery. He pleaded with her not to be misled by the prejudices of bigoted men and upheld the soundness of Columbus' views. In the end his eloquence won, Columbus was overtaken, and America saved for Spain. The Queen offered to pledge her jewels to finance the expedition, as the treasury of Spain was almost exhausted by years of warfare, but seventeen thousand florins were actually advanced by Ferdinand himself. Articles were drawn up satisfactory to Columbus.

Columbus now went to Palos to prepare for the voyage. Difficulties at once presented themselves. The demand of the sovereigns for ships and men met with refusal, when owners and crews learned the hazardous nature of the undertaking. At length Martin Pinzon and his brother Vicente offered to supply one vessel, the necessary crew, and to go themselves upon this voyage of discovery. Two other vessels were pressed into service by the royal officials. Difficulties were constantly arising, often caused by Gomez Rascon and Christoval Quintero, the owners of one of

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At length, in August, the vessels were ready for sea. The largest was the Santa Maria, which was decked. The Pinta was commanded by Martin Pinzon, with his brother as pilot. The third, the Nina, was commanded by a third brother, Vicente Pinzon. Numerous government officials sailed as representatives of the King. There was also a physician, various private adventurers, several servants, and ninety mariners, making a total of one hundred and twenty persons.

Book Three

In constant touch with original sources, Irving includes in his "Life" the prologue to the journal or "log" which Columbus kept daily as the official record of the voyage. While off the coast of Spain, the Pinta signaled that her rudder was broken and unhung, an accident which Columbus suspected had been contrived by the owners, in the hope that their vessel might be left behind. Columbus made the necessary repairs at the Canary Islands and proceeded. While at the island of Gomera, a vessel brought news of the presence of Portuguese caravals nearby. Fearing capture, because of the hostility of Portugal toward the expedition, Columbus hastened to sea on September sixth.

Columbus now issued orders that, if the vessels became separated, each was to continue to sail westward for seven hundred leagues, at which point he expected to discover land. He

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now resorted to strategy, in order to quiet the fears of his crew, and kept two reckonings, one a record of actual distance sailed, the other a much shortened record. About September thirteenth Columbus noted a variation in the compass, which ceased to point to the north star, varying five or six degrees to the northwest. His pilots soon discovered the variation and became greatly alarmed, as they feared that the compass would fail tham altogether. Columbus now reasoned that in reality the needle was still pointing to the north star, but that the position of the north star itself was changing, as did the other heavenly bodies.

With admirable clearness Irving points out that it was not the elements which Columbus had to fight, but the fears of his men. Birds believed to be land birds frequently flew aboard the ships. A continuous east wind made rapid progress possible. Great masses of weeds were often evident, another evidence of land. But the fearful seamen wondered if the wind might not always be east in this quarter of the globe, preventing their return in a westerly direction. Stories of ships unable to break through these large masses of seaweed were called to mind. They had already sailed farther eastward than man had ever sailed before, but still land, daily expected, did not appear. If it was calm, his men could not understand the absence of hugh waves in mid-ocean. A heavy swell, unaccompanied by wind, threw them into new terror. In short, the crews were in such a mental state that C_olumbus daily feared that he might

THE BIRMINGHAM EXHIBIT

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be compelled to return without accomplishing his purpose.

King Ferdinand had offered a reward of ten thousand maravedis to him who first discovered land. His crew was on the point of mutiny, but Columbus managed to pacify them, aided by the constant signs of land which almost daily appeared. On September twenty-fifth Martin Pinzon raised a shout from the Pinzon: "Land! Land! I claim my reward, semor." There was indeed an appearance of land at about twenty-five leagues distance to the southwest. Columbus threw himself on his knees and gave thanks to God. But, alas, the morning light proved the expected land to have been only a cloud on the horizon. On the seventh of October a gun was discharged from the Nina, land was again announced, but again it proved an illusion.

Columbus had now sailed westward seven hundred and fifty leagues. Clouds of small field-birds about the vessels, a phenomenon which had greatly aided Portuguese explorers, convinced him that land was near. Three days passed, but no land. The men clamored, but Columbus now assumed a decided tone, told them that the Spanish sovereigns were the patrons of this expedition, and that they expected success. The men were now in open rebellion, but signs of land, as the finding of a reed, a small board, and a staff artificially carved, convinced them that land really could not be far distant.

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gentleman of the King's bedchamber, saw it also, but before any-one else could be called the light had disappeared. At two in the morning a gun from the Pinta signalled land. It was first seen by a seaman named Rodrigo de Triana, but the reward was afterward adjudged to belong to the admiral, as he had first seen the light. The land was now clearly seen at a distance of two leagues.

Book Four

In the preface to his work, Irving declared that it was his ambition to write a detailed and circumstantial narrative of the voyages of Columbus. It is worth noting that he has succeeded in doing much more than this. He has succeeded in picturing with especial vividness and understanding the dramatic moments in the life of the great navigator, for whom he had formed a boundless admiration. His picture of the landing of Columbus for the first time upon American soil is notable for its expression of the spirit of the occasion.

Columbus ordered the boats to be manned and armed and quickly gained the shore. He knelt upon this new soil and kissed it and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. Rising, he drew his sword, unfurled the royal standard, named the island San Salvador, and took possession of it in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella. The natives approached timidly and gazed at this new god. They marveled at the shining armor of these fair-haired white men. Naked, with painted bodies, their only arms were lances. They were a well-built race, muscular and active,

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The admiral gave them colored caps, glass beads, hawks' bells and similar trifles, which the Portuguese had found delighted the natives of Africa. Inquiry as to where the gold was procured resulted in signs toward the south. Columbus was persuaded that he had reached the islands described by Marco Polo as lying opposite to Cathay, in the Chinese Sea. The country to the south, he thought must be the island of Cipango, abounding in gold.

Columbus now circumnavigated the island, found it of small size, and decided not to occupy it. Taking seven of the natives, that they might acquire the Spanish language and serve as interpreters, he set sail in a southerly direction. Landing on various islands of this archipelago, which was in reality the group known as the Bahamas, he gave them names, took on board water and supplies of native food, and endeavored to gain information from the natives. The suggestions that he did gather misled him completely. Pointing southward, the Indians indicated that a large island, called Cuba, was to be found in that direction. This must surely be Cipango and Columbus set sail once more to the south.

On the morning of October twenty-eighth Cuba appeared over the horizon. Columbus was struck with the size and the imposing topography of the island. Upon landing, he took possession in the name of Spain and called it Juana, in honor of Prince John. Irving remarks upon the delight of the navigator in the natural

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beauties of this new-found land. He is delighted with its scenery, its woods and flowers, its birds and animals. He fancied that he had found India because he thought he detected the fragrance of Oriental spices.

Martin Pinzon informed Columbus that three Indians had described to him a place but four day's journey which they called Cubanacan. They indicated that it abounded in gold. Pinzon thought they were naming the Tartar sovereign, Cublai Khan, and Columbus agreed that their statement seemed to confirm the near presence of the continent of Asia. Further sailing along the coast failed to result in reaching the court of this potentate, so Columbus landed again for further information. He understood a native to state that the Khan lived four day's journey in the interior. He therefore sent two messengers, with an Indian to guide them, to the supposed court, with instructions to inform the Great Khan of their arrival and desire to be received by him.

A few days later the envoys returned and made their report. After penetrating the interior twelve leagues, they had come to an Indian village of some fifty houses. They had been received ceremoniously by the natives. Luis de Torress, one of the messengers, then addressed them in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic, to no avail. He showed them specimens of cinnamon, pepper, and other spices, but they failed to recognize them. Gold seemed conspicuous by its absence. The messengers had been forced to conclude that they had not arrived at the court of the Great Khan. They had, however, seen tobacco smoked for the first time and had found an

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they had not arrived at the court of the Great Khan. They had,
however, seen tobacco smoked for the first time and had taken an

edible root which they had called the potato.

On the twelfth of November Columbus resumed his explorations, this time for an island which the Indians had called Babeque. Had he continued in his former direction he would have discovered Cuba to have been an island, and not a part of the mainland, which he believed it to be to the day of his death. While voyaging in the direction of Babeque, he decided to put his ship about for the night, as the wind was strong and contrary. The Pinta did not obey his signals. Night coming on, he ordered signal lights hoisted at the masthead, but when morning came the Pinta, under command of Martin Pinzon, had disappeared. The desertion of Pinzon was a serious matter for Columbus. Had he returned to Spain to claim credit for the discoveries? Columbus was under financial obligations to the Pinzons and quarrels had already arisen between them, as they were jealous of the authority of the admiral. Unable to seek the missing vessel, Columbus continued his course until he reached, on December fifth, the eastern end of Cuba.

While steering at large near the eastern extremity of Cuba, undecided upon his course of action, the natives pointed to land to the southeast, which they called Bohio, the name by which Columbus understood them to designate some country which abounded in gold. This was in reality the island of Hayti, which the admiral named Hispaniola, where he erected a cross on the headland commanding a great harbor. Columbus pursued his usual careful investigations, after he had persuaded the frightened natives

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to the southeast, which they called Bohio, the name by which

Columbus understood that to be a large and fertile country which abounded

in gold. This was in reality the island of Hayti, which the

admiral named Hispaniola, which he erected a crown on the head-

land surrounding a great harbor. Columbus turned his vessel east-

ward investigations, after he had persuaded the friendly natives

of his good intentions. That he was much struck by the fertility of the country and the ideal life of the natives is made evident through the writings of old Peter Martyr, to whom the admiral told his impressions of much that he saw. Irving often refers to this prolific writer of the fifteenth century.

The author gives an unusually clear and circumstantial account of the major disaster which happened to the expedition on the twenty-fourth of December. Columbus had given orders that his two vessels should stand off the coast until daylight. The sea was smooth, there was scarce wind enough to fill the sails, so Columbus went below for the first rest he had permitted himself for twenty-four hours. He had taken the precaution to sound the nearby waters and there were no rocks or shoals in their course. As soon as the admiral had gone below, the steersman gave the helm to one of the ship-boys and went to sleep. The watch on deck slumbered also, entrusting their safety to the inexperienced lad at the helm. Treacherous currents carried the ship out of its course upon a sand-bank. Columbus rushed on deck, followed by the master of the ship who should have been on duty. He at once ordered out a boat to carry an anchor astern to warp the vessel from the shoal. His men, excited and half-asleep, misunderstood his orders and rowed, instead, to the Nina. The time lost determined the fate of the vessel, for she became more firmly embedded in the sand, her seams opened filling her with water, and she fell over on her side. Columbus took refuge on the Nina. He speaks in glowing terms of the

of his good intentions. That he was much struck by the fertility of the country and the ideal life of the natives is made evident through the writings of his later works, so when the admiral told his impressions of such that he saw, living often refers to this prolific writer of the fifteenth century.

The author gives an unusually clear and circumstantial account of the major disaster which happened to the expedition on the twenty-fourth of December. Columbus had given orders that his two vessels should stand off the coast until daylight and see what happened, there was enough wind enough to allow the sails to be hoisted and he had taken the precaution to round the nearby waters and there were no rocks or shoals in their course. As soon as the admiral had gone below, the steersman gave the helm to one of the ship-boys and went to sleep. The action on deck unfolded also, entering their sails to the inexperienced led at the helm. Tremendous currents carried the ship out of its course upon a sand-bank. Columbus rushed on deck, followed by the master of the ship who should have been on duty. He at once ordered out a boat to carry a sloop to help the vessel from the bank. His men, excited and half-asleep, misunderstood his orders and rowed, instead, to the ship. The time lost determined the fate of the vessel, for the breeze more firmly embedded in the sand, her beam began to filling her with water, and she fell over on her side. Columbus took refuge on the deck. He speaks in glowing terms of the

sympathy and help of the cacique, or Indian chief, Guacanagari, near whose village he had been shipwrecked.

The shipwrecked crews now took refuge upon the territory of the cacique, whose friendliness proved invaluable to them. Irving goes into much detail about the ideal life of the natives in this natural paradise. Warfare was almost unknown, the necessities of life were obtained almost without labor, and the brotherhood of man seemed almost realized in this uncivilized little community.

The desire of many of his men to remain in the country and the loss of two of his vessels determined Columbus to plant a colony here and return to Spain. Enough of the wreck of the Santa Maria was salvaged to construct a fort, which was defended with the guns of the ship. The admiral believed the natives to be friendly and during his absence his men might explore the territory further in search of gold. He named the fort and the harbor La Navidad, or the Nativity, as the shipwreck had occurred on Christmas Day. Thirty-nine of his best men he selected to remain upon the island and he gave the command of the little group to Diego de Arana, naming two others to succeed him in case of his death. On January fourth, 1493, Columbus set sail from La Navidad on his return to Spain.

Book Five

Detained for two days near Hispaniola, the vessels resumed ~~th~~its voyage on the sixth. Almost immediately a sail was seen, which proved to be the Pinta. Martin Pinzon explained his

desertion by stating that he had been unable to join Columbus, having been driven by unfavorable winds to the eastward. From other sources the admiral found that tales of a country abounding in gold had lured Pinzon on a voyage, that he had landed on numerous islands in the neighborhood and had acquired some gold from trading for tinkets with the Indians. Anxious to avoid an open break with Pinzon, Columbus pretended to accept his story. He sailed to this trading place of Pinzon's, but found the natives hostile and warlike, so that he thought them to be the Caribs of whom the cacique Guacanagari had informed him. He soon left the island behind on his return voyage to Spain.

The return voyage to Spain was arduous in the extreme. Food and water were rapidly consumed, so that at times they were glad to kill fish and to catch rain water in buckets on the deck. By the tenth of February all felt that they were approaching the coast of Spain, but the Pinzons could not agree upon their position, while Columbus knew that they were one hundred and fifty leagues farther from Spain than they believed. The admiral kept his reckoning to himself, so that he alone would possess accurate information of the correct route to the newly discovered lands.

On February Fourteenth, as the mariners were hopefully on the lookout for land, the wind began to blow with violence and a heavy sea arose. The storm increased in fury and for two days they were compelled to run before the wind with bare poles. The Pinta again became separated and disappeared in the darkness of the night. Columbus assembled the men and each drew lots to perform

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 other sources the admiral learned that tales of a country abounding
 in gold had lured Ponce on a voyage, that he had landed on number
 one island in the neighborhood and had acquired some gold from
 trading for tin with the Indians. Anxious to avoid an open
 break with Ponce, Columbus pretended to accept his story. He
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 information of the correct route to the newly discovered lands.
 On February fourteenth, as the mariners were hopelessly on
 the lookout for land, the wind began to blow with violence and a
 heavy sea rose. The storm increased in fury and for five days
 was continued to the point of the wind with rain and hail. The land
 again became apparent and disappeared in the darkness of the
 night. Columbus assembled the men and each drew lots to perform

a pilgrimage to some sacred shrine if they were saved from death. He himself drew the first bean marked with a cross.

The thought that the loss of his ships would mean the loss of all that he had accomplished troubled Columbus greatly. He accordingly wrote on a parchment a brief account of his discoveries, wrapped it in wax paper, placed the package in a cake of wax and, enclosing the whole in a cask, threw it overboard, telling his men that he was performing a vow. He attached a similar package to the poop of his vessel, hoping that if the ship went down the barrel might be washed ashore.

On the morning of the fifteenth the wind and sea moderated and soon came the glad cry of "Land", which Columbus believed to be one of the Azores. The island proved to be St. Mary's, but when a part of his crew landed and made a pilgrimage to a nearby chapel in performance of their vow, the governor of the island seized them and cast them into prison. When the men failed to return promptly, Columbus became suspicious. The arrival of the governor, Juan de Castenada, in a boat alongside the ship found the admiral prepared for action, whereupon the representative of the King of Portugal retired precipitately. Shortly afterward two priests and a notary came aboard and inspected Columbus' papers. When convinced of the truth of his statements, they informed him that the King of Portugal had issued orders that Columbus be seized wherever found.

After encountering a severe storm, Columbus again found himself in distress off the Portuguese coast and was obliged to

a message to come across during it they were saved from death. He himself drew the first beam marked with a cross.

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After encountering a severe storm, Columbus again found

himself in distress off the Portuguese coast and was obliged to

seek shelter in the harbor of Rastello. His arrival reached the ears of the Portuguese king, who summoned him to court. Columbus went unwillingly, but was received with royal honors by King John, who showed keen interest in his discoveries. Columbus, of course, believed that he had discovered the island of Cipango and India. The king expressed the fear that the admiral had trespassed on land discovered by the Portuguese, which was comprehended in the Papal Bull granting to the crown of Portugal all the lands which it should discover from Cape Non to the Indies.

Portugal officials went so far as to suggest the assassination of Columbus as the best way out of the difficulty, but the King refused to listen to these dastardly proposals. He did, however, agree to the suggestion that he dispatch an expedition, after Columbus' safe arrival in Spain, to seize the lands he had discovered. Columbus suspected the motives of the king, but was treated with great consideration and permitted to leave the country, whence he arrived at Palos, his home port, on March fifteenth. The entire voyage had occupied not quite seven months and a half.

Columbus was received with rejoicing at Palos, which was increased when the safety of all the men on the expedition was announced. By a singular coincidence the Pinta, which had survived the storm, came into port on the evening of Columbus' arrival. Martin Pinzon was a greatly disappointed man when he discovered that he was not to gather all the laurels of the expedition.

Columbus repaired to the court at Barcelona immediately,

been shelter in the harbor of Kasele. His arrival reached the ears of the Portuguese King, who summoned his court. Columbus was not unwilling, but was received with royal honors by the King, who showed keen interest in his discoveries. Columbus, of course, believed that he had discovered the island of Cipango and India. The King expressed the fear that the Admiral had based on land discovered by the Portuguese, which was conveyed in the Royal Bull granting to the crown of Portugal all the lands which it should discover from Cape Non to the Indies. Columbus's officials went on land to suggest the suggestion of Columbus as the best way out of the difficulty, but the King refused to listen to their hastily prepared proposals. He did, however, agree to the suggestion that he dispatch an expedition after Columbus' safe arrival in Spain, to seize the lands he had discovered. Columbus suggested the motives of the King, but was treated with great consideration and permitted to leave the country, whence he arrived at Lisbon, his home port, on March 15th. The entire voyage had occupied not quite seven months and a half. Columbus was received with rejoicing at Lisbon, which was increased when the safety of all the men on the expedition was announced. By a singular coincidence the King, which had arrived the story, came into port on the evening of Columbus' arrival. Martin Laman was a greatly disappointed man when he discovered that he was not to gather all the islands of the ex-

discovery reached the King's court immediately.

where he was received with the highest honors. Irving gives a moving picture of his reception, in which those who had scoffed at his ideas now sought to ingratiate themselves in his favor. He displayed to the court specimens of unknown birds and other animals, rare plants and herbs of medicinal value, native gold in the form of dust, crude masses, or in the form of native ornaments. Feathered natives were brought in, while Columbus described the countries he had discovered. Cuba he thought to be the tip of the Asiatic continent, and the adjacent islands were in the Indian sea. He stressed the wealth to be won from these distant lands and already had visions of a profitable commerce between them and Spain.

Washington Irving is at much pains to depict the political difficulties with which Columbus was obliged to struggle preparatory to his second voyage, which was immediately suggested. His presence in Spain and close contact with every conceivable document bearing on the navigator and his official relations with court officials made him realize, as perhaps no other historian, the secret intrigues and jealousies which surrounded Columbus. As an American, too, he had no incentive to mitigate this blot upon the Spanish national honor, a natural attitude on the part of Spanish historians.

Inspired by the rivalry between Spanish and Portuguese discoverers, King Ferdinand at once sought to legalize the discoveries of Columbus by appealing to Alexander Sixth, the pope, to ratify them. The pontiff consented and issued a bull in which

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Columbus's living in Spain gains to date the political
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 ery of Columbus by appointing to Alexander Sixth, the pope, to
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he assigned all lands west of an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues west of the Azores, to Spain, and all lands east of this line to Portugal.

Ferdinand appointed Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, to the task of preparing the second voyage to America. This gentleman was a man of little honor and much vindictiveness and he was the cause of untold difficulties to Columbus. Other officials associated with him formed a bureau for the management of Indian affairs. Again the authorities were granted permission to seize any vessel needed for the expedition. No one was permitted to go on this new voyage without the express permission of the sovereigns themselves. Expenses of this new journey were met by the grant of two-thirds of all Church tithes and the sale of jewels and other property seized from the Jews upon their expulsion from Spain.

A diplomatic game of hide and seek now took place between Ferdinand and John. King Ferdinand had sent an ambassador with two sets of instructions to the Portuguese court. If he found that King John meditated no treachery, he was to present one note, but if he had reason to think that the Portuguese king was about to send an expedition to seize the newly-discovered lands, he was to present a note of stern warning. But King John had spies at the Spanish court who informed him of every move, so that he received the Spanish ambassador in a conciliatory spirit, while he went on with his preparations for an expedition to America.

Word came one day that a Portuguese caraval had set sail for the West and preparations were hurried to send Columbus away

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at the Spanish court and informed him of every move, so that he
received the Spanish ambassador in a cordial manner, while
he went on with the preparation for an expedition to America.
And came one day that a Portuguese vessel had set sail

as soon as possible. A fleet of seventeen vessels was loaded with every possible article that might prove of use in the colonization of the new country. Many Spanish adventurers of the greatest reputation and noblest blood were passengers on these ships. The Church was represented by some of her most famous prelates and missionaries, for the conversion of the natives to the Catholic religion was considered of greatest importance. On the twenty-fifth of September, 1493, Columbus sailed on his second voyage of discovery to the new world.

Book Six

After a brief stop at the Canaries, the admiral sailed westward. He had given each commander sealed instructions, which were to be opened only if the ships became separated, to meet him at the harbor of Nativity, the site of the fort he had constructed. After an uneventful voyage he sighted, on November second, an island to which he gave the name of Dominica. This was one of the islands of the Antilles. After sailing among these islands, Columbus finally anchored near the largest, which he named Guadaloupe. The natives here appeared to be cannibals, for traces of human flesh were seen about their huts. The captain of a caraval and eight men who had gone ashore failed to return at nightfall and were missing several days. Columbus feared they had been captured and devoured, but they finally returned amid great rejoicing.

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cover if all were well at the fort he ordered two cannon to be fired, but there was no reply. Fearful of disaster, he was relieved by the arrival of a canoe at midnight, which contained two natives, one of them a cousin of the cacique Guacanagari. This messenger informed Columbus that the cacique had been attacked by Caonabo, the fierce cacique of the golden mountains of Cibao, who had wounded him and destroyed his village.

At daylight the admiral sent a reconnoitering party ashore, which discovered the fort to be in ruins and without inhabitants. Under the protection of the guns of the fleet, the admiral himself went to the fort and discovered every evidence of disaster. Later in the day a few Indians made their appearance and by friendly treatment were persuaded to approach. Some of them knew a little Spanish and were acquainted with the names of the men Columbus had left at the fort. By the aid of an interpreter the story of the disaster finally came to light.

The garrison, upon Columbus' departure, had forgotten all his instructions. Some had seized golden ornaments from the natives; others had violated the women and incurred the enmity of the Indians. Don Diego de Arena, whom Columbus had left in command, had been unable to enforce his authority. The garrison had broken up into little hostile groups and many had left the protection of the fort. Guiterez and de Escobega, with a group of followers, had gone on an expedition after gold to the territory of the hostile cacique Caonabo, who had murdered them and then formed an alliance with the cacique of Marien to attack the fort and drive the white men from the land.

EFFICIENCY BOND

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APPENDIX

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The attack had been made and the fort surprised and captured without difficulty. The friendly cacique Guananagari and his men had fought the invaders, but had been put to route. Such was the tale told C^olumbus.

Guacanagari was visited a few days later by C^olumbus, who took with him a large train of attendants to impress the cacique with his power. The story of the chieftain agreed with that told by the interpreters, and the destruction of the village also seemed to confirm the tale, but an examination by a Spanish surgeon of the chieftain's leg showed it to be quite whole and unmarked. The cacique now came on board of Columbus' vessel and was much impressed by the strange things that he saw. On board ship were ten Carib women whom C^olumbus had freed from Carib captivity. One of them, named Catalina, was of unusual beauty and intelligence. That night all these women slipped over the side of the vessel and swam three miles to shore, at the behest, it was thought, of Guacanagari, who had paid much attention to the beautiful Catalina. Suspicions of the sincerity of this chieftain were now general.

Book Seven

Columbus now desired to seek a proper location for his projected colony. He weighed anchor and set sail, with the intention of reaching La Plata, but adverse winds compelled him to put into a harbor ten leagues from Monti Christi. The advantages of this site were soon apparent. The soil appeared fertile, the waters abounded in fish, the climate was temperate. Indians informed them, also, that the gold-bearing mountains of Cibao lay at no

The vessel had been made and the fort surrounded and captured without difficulty. The friendly captain (Garcia) and his men had fought the invaders, but had been put to flight. Such was the fate of Lima.

Garcia was visited a few days later by Columbus, who took with him a large train of attendants to improve the condition of the coast. The story of the capture of the vessel is given by the interpreters, and the description of the village also seems to confirm the tale, but an examination of the vessel, which the chief had taken to Lima, showed it to be a vessel of the Indies now used on board of Columbus' vessel and was much distressed by the strong winds that he saw. On board were the chief women when Columbus had first taken the vessel. They were, named Catalina, was of unusual beauty and intelligence. That night all these women slipped over the side of the vessel and were three miles to shore. At the present, it was thought, of Garcia's who had paid with attention to the beautiful Catalina. Descriptions of the similarity of this capture were now general.

Book seven

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great distance inland. Columbus now disembarked his men. Provisions, guns and ammunition, domestic animals, implements of every kind, were soon landed. Streets and squares were laid out; a church, a public storehouse, and a house for the admiral were constructed of stone. Private houses were built of wood, which was everywhere abundant. The failure to find gold had discouraged many of the Spanish adventurers, and the hard labor necessary to colony-building resulted in much sickness. The worry and responsibility of commanding a large squadron wore upon Columbus himself and for several weeks he had to take to his bed. It was now necessary to send back most of his vessels and his failure to find gold troubled him, for he knew that this failure would prejudice the sovereigns against him.

While the new settlement of Isabella was daily taking shape, Columbus sought for the gold which he knew the expedition was expected to discover. He sent a courageous and judicious adventurer, one Ojeda, into the interior to explore the mountains of the fierce chieftain Caonabo. The men of this expedition were not attacked and thought they saw ample signs of wealth. The sands of the mountain streams glittered with gold. Large specimens of virgin ore were picked up in river bottoms. Ojeda returned with enthusiastic accounts of the wealth of the country. Another cavalier, Gorvalan, who had been dispatched on a similar expedition to another section of the country, returned likewise with stories of gold to be had for the taking. Satisfied now that he was on the right path, Columbus now sent back twelve of the fleet to Spain, retaining five

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ships. He also suggested that the revenue of Spain might be increased by enslaving the Caribs, and he begged for further supplies of food, much of which had been consumed, or had proved uneatable. Columbus sent a letter to the Spanish sovereigns in which he told of his conviction that gold was to be found in great quantities in the country. His information on this point was strengthened by the letters of other important persons who expressed similar views.

Columbus now had to encounter rebellion in addition to all his other difficulties. The Spaniards were jealous that a man whom they regarded as a foreigner had been given such authority. One Bernal Diaz de Pisa, who had come on the expedition as controller, plotted Columbus' overthrow. He was aided by Fermin Cedo, an assayer, who gave it as his official opinion that the country contained little or no gold.

Fortunately the plot was discovered before it could be put into execution. Columbus confined de Pisa on board one of his vessels to be sent to Spain for trial and punished the other plotters with great lenity. But his exhibition of authority raised a spirit of hatred against him which proved to be one of his greatest difficulties in administering the colony.

Columbus himself now led an expedition into the interior. He found traces of gold in the streams. Indians brought him nuggets of considerable size, with explanations that they had been found in the mountains. He built a mountain fortress which he named St. Thomas and garrisoned with fifty-six men under the

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 named St. Thomas and garrisoned with fifty-six men under the

command of Pedro Magarite. He had revised his ideas of the peaceability of the natives of Hispaniola and thought it prudent to be prepared for any treachery. Satisfied that the interior did possess gold, he returned to Isabella.

The colony appeared to be prospering, but disease soon again appeared. Near-by marshes caused what was undoubtedly malaria and men died by scores. Venereal disease also made its appearance from contact with the native women. Supplies daily became less, until it became necessary to put the colony upon short rations. Many Spanish nobles resented this necessary restriction as a personal affront and the feeling against Columbus increased. The necessity of labor, too, was little understood by many of these proud Spaniards, who had not expected to be called upon for such work when they had joined the expedition. To make matters worse, Magarite, who commanded the fort of St. Thomas, sent word that the natives were hostile in their attitude and that he feared an attack.

Columbus now prepared for a voyage of exploration to Cuba, but before his departure he sent an army of some four hundred men, with some cavalry, which the Indians especially feared, under the command of de Ojeda, who was to replace Margarite in command of the fort at St. Thomas.

The voyage to Cuba was singularly unproductive. Contact with the natives resulted in the usual vague references to gold—this time to the southward—but little else. Nevertheless he was in many ways especially delighted with Cuba. He was convinced

command of Pedro Martinez, he had revised his ideas of the possibility of the natives of Hispaniola and thought it urgent to be prepared for any emergency. He stated that the inferior did possess gold, he returned to Isabella.

The colony appeared to be prospering, but disease soon again appeared. Many of the natives died, but disease soon returned and was then followed by others. Several of these also were the result of contact with the native women. Supplies daily became scarce, until it became necessary to put the colony upon short rations. Many Spanish houses retained this necessity for attention as a personal affront to the feeling against Columbus increased. The necessity of labor, too, was little understood by many of these great Spaniards, who had not expected to be called upon for such work when they had joined the expedition. To make matters worse, Martinez, who commanded the Fort of St. Thomas, sent word that the natives were hostile in their attitude and that he feared an attack.

Columbus now prepared for a voyage of exploration to Cuba, but before his departure he sent an army of some four hundred men, with some cavalry, which the Indians especially feared, under the command of de Ojeda, who was to replace Martinez in command of the Fort at St. Thomas.

The voyage to Cuba was singularly unproductive. Contact with the natives resulted in the usual vague references to gold, but this time the countenance of the natives was nevertheless so wary in many ways especially in the case of the natives. He was convinced

that in sailing along the coast of Cuba he was in reality skirting the coast of Asia. So sure was he of this that he required every member of his ship's crew to make oath that he believed he had seen the coast of Asia.

Book Eight

Upon his return to Isabella, Columbus was overjoyed to find his brother Bartholomew, who had been given command of the supply ships from Spain. During his absence rebellion had again shown itself. Margarite had taken his forces to another part of the country than ordered by Columbus and had treated the natives so harshly as to bring down the condemnation of Don Diego Columbus. He resented this criticism and defied Don Diego. He aroused the discontented nobles, aided much by Friar Boyle, seized several ships in the harbor, and departed for Spain. The cacique Caonabo had also taken advantage of Columbus' absence and had laid siege to the fort of St. Thomas. Ojeda had defended it with great skill and bravery and, after a protracted siege, had driven off the Indians. The disappointed cacique now planned an Indian confederacy to drive out the Spaniards. He succeeded in gaining four chieftains as allies, but failed to secure the cooperation of Guacanagari, against whom suspicions proved unfounded.

Columbus sent military expeditions into the territory of these hostile chiefs, before they could make their concerted attack upon Isabella, and put them to route with great slaughter. Ojeda now offered to capture the redoubtable Caonabo by stratagem and went with ten men to the village of the cacique,

that in sailing along the coast of Cuba he was in reality sailing
the coast of Asia. He was sure of this that he required
every member of his ship's crew to make a bet that he believed
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Look Right

Upon his return to Iacubia, Columbus was surprised to
find his brother Bartholomew, who had been given command of the
supply ships from Spain. During his absence rebellion had again
broken out. Bartholomew had taken his forces to another part of
the country that entered by Columbus and had treated the natives
unfavorably so that down the coast of the island of Cuba
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the disappointed nobles, aided much by Peter Martyr, raised sev-
eral ships in the harbor, and departed for Spain. The captain
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four chieftains as allies, but failed to secure the cooperation
of Guacanagari, against whom expedition was ordered.
Columbus sent military expeditions into the territory of
these hostile chiefs, before they could make their concerted
attack upon Iacubia, and put them to rout with great slaughter.
Don Ujeda now offered to capture the notorious Gonzalo by
stratagem and went with ten men to the village of the Indians,

EMERGENCY BOND

who received him peacefully, out of his great admiration for him. Ojeda bribed him to come to Isabella to make a peace treaty with Columbus, promising him the church bell, which he greatly coveted. He started upon the journey with a great multitude of followers. To get rid of these Ojeda resorted to trickery. He showed him a pair of glittering steel manacles, described them as ornaments of a king, and promised to place them on the wrists of the chief and to let him ride his own horse. Caonabo permitted him to adjust the bracelets, mounted behind Ojeda and was carried from the midst of his protecting army, who were powerless to catch the fleet steeds of the Spaniards. The Indians now ceased their attacks upon the Spaniards.

The arrival of four new supply ships from Spain cheered the colony greatly. The ships also bore messages from Ferdinand and Isabella commending Columbus for his administration of the colony and expressing their confidence in him. Columbus, knowing that Margarite and Friar Boyle had powerful friends in Spain, now decided to send his brother Don Diego to protect his interests at court. He made every effort to send a large supply of gold and various valuable plants and fruits, and he added five hundred Indian prisoners to be sold as slaves. The supply ships departed almost immediately for Spain.

Columbus now had to face another coalition against him. News was brought that a vast army of Indians, estimated at as many as a hundred thousand, was within two day's march of Isabella. The admiral marshalled his little army, two hundred infantry and

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 with Columbus, promising him the captain's post, which he greatly
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 showed him a pair of glittering steel armor, described them
 as ornaments of a king, and promised to place them on the winner
 of the trial and to let him ride his own horse. Columbus permitted
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Columbus now had to face another coalition against him. News
 was brought that a vast army of Indians, estimated at as many as
 a hundred thousand, was within two days' march of Isabella. The
 admiral marshalled his little army, two hundred infantry and

twenty horse, under the command of his brother Bartholomew. He had with him a number of bloodhounds. He divided his little army into several squadrons, each of which was to attack the enemy from a different quarter. The Indians quickly gave way under an impetuous cavalry charge under Ojeda, whose armored horsemen proved irresistible. The dogs seized the natives by the throat, pinned them to earth, and disemboweled them. European weapons and methods of warfare again proved too much for native courage and another native uprising was successfully put down.

Columbus the admiral now became Columbus the conqueror. He divided Hispaniola into districts and demanded tribute from each cacique and his followers. In the gold districts of the island each cacique had to bring to Isabella every three months half a calabash of gold dust, while each Indian had to furnish the equivalent of a hawk's bell full of gold. In territory where no gold was to be found, each individual had to furnish twenty-five pounds of cotton every three months. To enforce his demands, Columbus strengthened his chain of forts across the island.

Margarite and Friar Boyle, upon their arrival in Spain, at once set about discrediting Columbus. They accused him of oppressing the colonists, by requiring excessive labor and denying them necessary food. They maintained that Hispaniola was of little value as a colony and that it possessed little gold. They also criticised the absence of the admiral upon his Cuban and Jamaican expeditions, insisting that his presence was needed in the colony. These representations, often made through influ-

twenty horse, under the command of his brother Bartholomew. He
 had with him a number of blackhounds. He divided his little army
 into several squadrons, each of which was to attack the enemy
 from a different quarter. The Irish and English gave way under
 the first charge under O'Connell, whose sword was broken
 and his horse killed. The dogs raised an uproar at the sight
 of the men to earth, and dispersed them. The English were
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 no gold was to be found, each individual had to furnish yearly
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 O'Connell strengthened his chain of forts across the island.

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ential friends at court, and the jealousy of the foreign birth of Columbus, influenced Ferdinand and Isabella. The King determined to send an emissary to investigate the true state of affairs. Ferdinand also granted permission to Spanish navigators to explore and colonize at their own expense, an act which Columbus resented as an infringement upon his own privileges.

The timely arrival of the supply ships under Torres did much, however, to correct the unfavorable court attitude toward Columbus. Torres reported his safe return to the colony and indicated the supposed discovery of the Asiatic coast, which was received with acclaim. Juan Aguado was appointed as the King's representative to visit the colony, an appointment which it was thought would not antagonize the admiral, as he had recommended him highly to the sovereigns. Isabella decided that the Indian prisoners should be returned to their native land and not held as slaves.

Aguado's appointment completely turned his head. Upon his arrival at Isabella he conducted himself as if he had superseded Columbus himself. The complaints of every malcontent were listened to with entire credence and the report spread all over the island that another admiral had been appointed. Columbus returned to face Aguado, who tried to anger him into some disrespect of the sovereigns, but failed utterly. The admiral now realized that he was needed in Spain to defend his own interests and he determined to return. As they were about to sail, a tropical hurricane descended upon the island, wrecked all four of Aguada's ships and

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he was needed in Spain to defend his own interests and he deter-
mined to return. As they were about to sail, a tropical hurricane
transcended upon the island, wrecked all four of Agüero's ships and

two of the admiral's. The Nina alone remained and she required much rebuilding to fit her for sea. The delay proved of value to C^ulumbus, as it resulted in the discovery of the mines of Hayna. This mine proved richer than any yet discovered and Columbus was delighted to be able to return with such tidings to the court of Spain.

Book Nine

After a weary voyage of three months, during which time Columbus and his followers were often threatened with starvation, the admiral reached the Bay of Cadiz. Columbus was received with kindness by Ferdinand and Isabella, somewhat to his surprise. They were favorable to his request for eight new ships to undertake another voyage of exploration. But Spain was under great expense at this time. A war with France threatened. A Spanish expedition even then was engaged in the capture of Naples. The princess Juana was to be married to the Archduke of Austria, which entailed unusual expense. Just as the necessary money was about to be turned over to Columbus, Pedro Nino returned from Isabella with much gold, as he informed Ferdinand by letter. The King now spent the money designed for Columbus upon the repair of the fortress of Salza, which had been sacked by the French, planning to finance Columbus' expedition with the gold brought by Nino. This sum, however, turned out to be purely imaginary. Nino had merely brought Indian prisoners to be sold as slaves.

The usual delays and intrigues delayed Columbus in his preparations for his third voyage. Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, was

two of the admirals. The mine alone remained and the rest
was reported to him for use. The delay proved of value
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DISCOVERY OF GOLD

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claiming to finance Columbus' expedition with the gold brought
by them. This was, however, turned out to be purely imaginary.
The admiral delays and Isabella delays Columbus to the ex-
peditions for his third voyage. Ferenc, Marquis of Habsburg, was

chief of the bureau of Indian affairs and he was the inveterate enemy of the navigator. Such was the difficulty of securing new colonists for Isabella that criminals were enlisted and the poorest type of colonist imaginable secured, when men of honesty and ambition were most needed. But at last, on the thirteenth of May, 1498, Columbus set sail on his third voyage of discovery.

The admiral decided to sail by a different route from that followed on any of his other voyages. He intended to sail directly westward until he should find himself in the neighborhood of Hispaniola. He had come to believe that if he sailed to the neighborhood of the equator he would find land richer in the precious metals. His opinion had been strengthened by a letter from Jayne Ferrer, an eminent lapidar, who had written him at the instance of the Queen. On the thirteenth of July he found himself in the fifth degree of north latitude, a region which is noted for its calms and intense heat. His men suffered greatly from the extreme heat, the seams of the ships softened, provisions spoiled, while the supply of water diminished alarmingly. On the thirty-first of July he discovered the island of Trinidad, when each vessel had only one cask of water remaining.

Book Ten

In his explorations Columbus found himself in the Gulf of Paria, where his little fleet was nearly overwhelmed by a huge tidal wave. After great difficulty he came in contact with the Indians, who wore golden ornaments of an inferior kind, consisting of an alloy of gold, silver and copper. But many of them

chief of the bureau of Indian Affairs and he was the investigator of the mystery. Such was the difficulty of securing material for investigation that the only way of solving the case was to go to the scene of the crime. When this was done, the first thing that was needed was a map of the district of Columbia. The general decided to sail by a different route from that followed on any of his other voyages. He intended to sail directly westward until he should find himself in the neighborhood of the coast. He had some reason to believe that it was in the neighborhood of the equator he would find the island in the previous voyage. His opinion was strengthened by a letter from James Taylor, an eminent geographer, who had written him at the instance of the Queen. On the thirteenth of July he found himself in the latitude of north latitude, a region which is noted for its calm and serene sea. His own vessel greatly exceeded the extent of the voyage of the ship, and he felt that he was in the neighborhood of the island. On the thirteenth of July he reached the island of St. Thomas, which was only a few miles from the coast of water remaining.

Book Ten

In his expedition Columbus found himself in the Gulf of Mexico, where the little fleet was nearly overwhelmed by a great wave. After great difficulty he came in contact with the Indians, who were golden ornaments of an inferior kind, consisting of an alloy of gold, silver and copper, but many of them

wore bracelets of pearl about their arms and this seemed to open up a new avenue of wealth.

The hardships of the voyage had greatly weakened Columbus. His eyesight was so bad that he could no longer take his own observations. He was wracked by the gout and weakened by long hours of watchfulness. He decided, therefore, to make at once for Isabella.

Don Bartholmew, leaving his brother Don Diego in command of Isabella, obeyed Columbus' order to construct a fort during his absence in Spain. This fort commanded a district about the newly discovered mines. Not able to secure enough provisions to support a large body of men, he left a small garrison and next proceeded, as Columbus had directed, to establish a town on the Ozema, which it was hoped would prove to be a valuable seaport. He erected a fort to protect the seaport, which he named San Domingo, the site of the Haytian city of that name to-day.

Don Bartholomew next invaded the district about the Xaragua, which was governed by a cacique named Behechio. This district was the most fertile of any on the island and the Indians there were of a superior type. At first Behechio was inclined to resent the arrival of the Spanish expedition, but Bartholomew explained that he intended no harm, but was merely the representative of the Spanish sovereigns. He made clear the need of tribute, to which Behechio agreed, when he found that it could be paid in cotton, hemp, and cassava bread, as he had no gold.

There was constant difficulty at Isabella during the absence

some possibility of being about their time and that seemed to open up a new avenue of research.

The necessity of the voyage had greatly weakened Columbus. His eyesight was so bad that he could no longer take his own observations. He was struck by the Gulf and weakened by long periods of inactivity. He decided, therefore, to take at once for the

Don Bartholomew, leaving his brother Don Diego in command of the fleet, to go to the Indies in person. This fact concerned a district about the navy

discovered since. Not able to make much progress in support of a large body of men, he left the fleet and went to the Indies. Columbus had directed, to set sail a day or two before, when it was hoped would prove to be a valuable escort. He decided to

not to protect the escort, which he named San Domingo, the day of the festival day of that name to St.

Don Bartholomew had invited the district about the Indies, which was governed by a captain named Bartholomew. This district was the most fertile of any on the island and the Indians there were a superior type. At first Bartholomew was inclined to govern the

part of the Spanish expedition, but Bartholomew explained that he had no desire, but was merely the representative of the Spanish government. He made clear the need of tribute, to which the Indians were used, when he found that it could be paid in cotton, hemp, and

There was a constant difficulty of the Indians during the absence

of the admiral. The colonists complained that he had forgotten them. The arrival of supplies from Spain helped the situation only temporarily and soon the colonists had to depend upon the country again. The location of the town seems to have been ill-chosen and the inhabitants had to contend with constant illness. The admiral and his two brothers were never regarded by the Spaniards as one of themselves, but as foreigners to whom they must pay unwilling obedience.

Book Eleven

The disaffection of the Spanish colonists at Isabella burst into open rebellion during the absence of Columbus. Don Bartholomew was on an expedition in the interior and had left the command with his brother, Don Diego. The leader of the rebellion was Roldan, a man of little education, but of unusual energy and natural ability. Columbus had advanced him to the position of alcalde mayor, or chief judge of the island, subordinate only to Don Diego. Roldan believed Columbus to have lost the confidence of the Spanish sovereigns. He stirred up the colonists by telling them of their wrongs, until he had persuaded them to conspire against the life of Don Diego himself. A friend of Roldan's, one Berahona, had been condemned to death for the rape of an Indian woman. The plan of the conspirators was to stab Don Diego in the midst of a simulated tumult when the populace was gathered in the square to witness the execution. Unfortunately for Roldan, Don Diego pardoned the man, so the opportunity was lost.

When the caraval returned from Xaragua laden with Indian tribute, the vessel was drawn up on land for safety. Roldan

of the rebels. The colonists complained that in not forgetting them. The arrival of supplies from Spain helped the rebels only temporarily and soon the colonists had to depend upon the country again. The location of the town seems to have been chosen and the inhabitants had to contend with constant illness. The rebels and the two brothers were never regarded by the Spaniards as one of themselves, but as foreigners to whom they must pay unwilling obedience.

Don Diego

The history of the Spanish colonists at Ispahana during the open rebellion during the reign of Columbus. Don Diego came out on an expedition in the interior and had left the coast with his brother, Don Diego. The leader of the rebellion was Polanco, a man of little education, but of unusual energy and natural ability. Columbus had advanced him to the position of alcaide mayor, or chief justice of the island, and only to Don Diego. Brian believed Columbus to have lost the leadership of the Spanish colonies. He arrived at the colonies in the belief that of their spirit, which he had retained from his exile against the life of Don Diego himself. A friend of Polanco's, one Hernandez, had been condemned to death for the case of an Indian woman. The plan of the conspirators was to kill Don Diego in the midst of a banquet which was to be given in the square to witness the execution. Unfortunately for Don Diego, Don Diego betrayed the plan, so the opportunity was lost. When the escape failed from Xantara Island with Indian friends, the vessel was driven up on land for safety. Polanco

persuaded his followers that the caraval should be kept afloat and sent to Spain for provisions. Don Diego refused to do this and sent Roldan to the Vega with an expedition to enforce the payment of Indian tribute. The rebel leader took this opportunity to conciliate the Indian caciques and to win their support by telling them not to pay their tribute. He next journeyed to Fort Conception, hoping to surprise and capture it, but the commander, Miguel Ballester, proved loyal and refused to treat with him.

Don Bartholomew now went to Fort Conception and summoned Roldan, who was in the neighborhood, to a council. He demanded that he resign his office, but the latter refused, marched suddenly to Isabella, looted the storehouse of supplies and arms, and set off for Xaragua, which he represented as a paradise to his men. Don Bartholomew, knowing that the natives were all in league with Roldan, and uncertain of the loyalty of his own soldiers, did not dare at this time to take the field against him.

The arrival of Pedro Coronel at San Domingo with two ships, bringing supplies and a strong re-enforcement of troops, strengthened the hand of Don Bartholomew. A royal message confirming the appointment of Don Bartholomew as adelantado did much to discourage the rebels. He at once sent for additional troops, set out for San Domingo, and summoned Roldan to meet him. He sent Coronel as his intermediary and offered amnesty for all past offences, on condition of immediate return to allegiance. Roldan refused the offer and at once set out for Xaragua, that his men might not be tempted to desert him.

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The disaffected natives were being marshalled for an attack upon Fort Conception. Through an error, one cacique attacked before the agreed time, was repulsed, and thus put the Spanish on their guard. Don Bartholomew now led his army into the mountains of Ciguay to capture the rebellious chief Guarionex, who had headed the conspiracy. He was sheltered by another cacique, Mayobanex, who refused to give him up. After a long time and an arduous campaign the two chiefs were captured by stratagem and the rebellious Indians were forced to renew their allegiance.

Irving paints a vivid picture of the conditions which Columbus found upon his return to Hispaniola after his long absence in Spain. The colonists had never cultivated the soil to any extent to put themselves upon a self-supporting basis. Most of them rejected the idea of manual labor as beneath the dignity of a Spaniard. Many of the provinces now lay desolate and deserted, the Indians having fled to the hills. At Isabella, public works lay uncompleted, while idle men quarreled among themselves or mutinied against authority.

Roldan had now taken possession of Xaragua. Three caravals appeared off the coast. The rebel leader boarded them, pretending to be stationed in the neighborhood to collect tribute from the natives. They proved to be the three ships detached by Columbus at the Canary Islands to bring supplies to the colonists. Roldan commandeered supplies and ammunition by virtue of his official position. Finally Carvajal, captain of one of the caravals, discovered that Roldan was in rebellion, endeavored to dissuade

The distressed natives were being hurried for an attack upon Fort Concepcion. Through an error, one party advanced before the agreed time, was repulsed, and thus put the count on their guard. Don Bartolomeo now led his army into the mountains of Cuzco to capture the rebellious chief Guarihuac, who had headed the conspiracy. He was assisted by another chief, Kayocoma, who refused to give him up. After a long time and an arduous campaign the two chiefs were captured by stratagem and the rebellious Indians were forced to renew their allegiance.

Living pains a vivid picture of the conditions which Columbus found upon his return to Hispaniola after his long absence in Spain. The colonists had never cultivated the soil to any extent to put themselves upon a self-sustaining basis. They of them rejected the idea of manual labor as beneath the dignity of a Spaniard. Many of the provinces now lay desolate and deserted, the Indians having fled to the hills. As a result, public works lay uncompleted, while the new quarries and mines remained or maintained against authority.

Roldan had now taken possession of Caracas. Three expeditions appeared off the coast. The royal fleet hurried there, intending to be stationed in the neighborhood to collect tribute from the natives. They proved to be the three ships detached by Balboa at the Canary islands to bring supplies to the colonists. Roldan commended supplies and ammunition by virtue of his official position. Finally Carvajal, captain of one of the expeditions discovered that Roldan was in rebellion, and resolved to discontinue

him from his purpose, and finally put him ashore and proceeded to Isabella.

Book Twelve

Columbus himself now decided upon more rigorous measures. He issued a proclamation offering free passage to all those who wished to return to Spain. This, he hoped, would free the colony of men who had proved their unfitness to be there. He also sent Ballester, commandant of Fort Conception, to treat with Roldan, authorizing him to offer pardon to the rebel leader. The latter treated the offer with contempt and demanded the release of certain slaves, captured Indians who had refused to pay tribute, as he knew that he could give his rebellion the appearance of legitimacy by appearing to fight for the vindication of the Indians.

Unable to take the field with his disaffected troops, Columbus knew that he must temporize and decided to send the ships back to Spain at once. He prepared a chart of his recent discoveries in the Gulf of Para, sent specimens of gold and pearls, and wrote an enthusiastic letter descriptive of the wealth of this newly discovered continent. Roldan and his friends also sent letters to influential friends in Spain, complaining of their treatment by the admiral and detailing the sufferings of the colonists. Columbus now met Roldan at San Domingo, but the demands of the rebels were so impossible of acceptance that nothing came of the meeting. Finally, through Carvajal, an agreement was reached. Roldan was to be permitted to send fifteen of his followers to Spain. Those who remained were to be granted land instead of the pay

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Box Twelve

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Columbus to take the field with his distinguished troops, but
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was to be permitted to send fifteen of his followers to Spain.
These who remained were to be granted land instead of the pay

which was in arrears. All testimony against them was to be declared false. Roldan himself was to be re-instated without prejudice in his old position of chief judge of the island. Columbus accepted these harsh terms because he must, but with the mental reservation that he would by letter or in person explain to the sovereigns the necessity of granting such terms to the rebels. Roldan now conducted himself with greater discretion, as he felt that he had gained much and must prove his loyalty to remain in possession of his new wealth.

Book Thirteen

Irving depicts with clearness and understanding the final chapter in the downfall of Columbus. Every vessel that returned to Spain brought disaffected men who hesitated at no calumny in their effort to discredit the admiral. The fact that he was a foreigner was constantly brought against him, and he was even accused of an intention to cast off allegiance to the Spanish crown. His enemies used one incontestable fact, which had great weight with Ferdinand, to injure the admiral. Was it not true, they asserted, that the colonies were a constant source of expense, instead of yielding the expected revenue? How could the glowing accounts of Columbus be true when compared with that fact? This argument influenced Ferdinand greatly, for constant wars had drained his treasury and he had hoped that the revenue of his new lands would offset this great expense. Returned colonists clamored for the pay which they said had been denied them by Columbus.

which was in answer. All testimony against them was to be cast
 as false. Tolson himself was to be re-interested without prejudice
 in his old position of chief judge of the island. Tolson was asked
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BOOK REVIEW

Leaving aside with chapters and understanding the final
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 Tolson was consistently against him, and he was even
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Isabella, who had always favorably regarded Columbus and his projects, was aroused by the fact that Indian slaves continued to arrive by every vessel, and that Columbus himself recommended that Indians who refused to pay tribute should be enslaved, in spite of her known antagonism to such procedure. Ferdinand finally decided to send an emissary to investigate conditions in Hispaniola, though he delayed this action for almost a year before he put it into execution. He chose Don Francisco de Bobadilla, an officer of the royal household, for this delicate mission. He gave him several letters patent, which were to be used in varying conditions at his discretion. The first letter provided for an investigation of the rebellion and gave de Bobadilla power to try the rebels and to punish them if he saw fit. The second letter gave his emissary power to exile any Spaniards whose presence on the island he thought inimical to the administration of good government. The third letter, to be used only if de Bobadilla found that Columbus had exceeded his authority or had badly administered the government, required the admiral to turn over all government property to the King's representative.

Bobadilla arrived at Isabella on the twenty-third of August during the absence of the admiral. A boat put out from shore to discover the identity of the new arrivals and soon the rumour that the King had sent an official to investigate the conduct of Columbus was broadcast. Every disaffected Spaniard who thought it wise to ingratiate himself with Bobadilla found occasion to visit the vessel and recount his grievances to him. The presence of two

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 ... was expressed by the fact that ...
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 ... in spite of her known ...
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dead Spaniards in chains at the entrance of the harbor confirmed Bobadilla in his opinion of undue severity in the administration of the government. He had already formed an opinion of the culpability of Columbus before he had even landed or conversed with Don Diego, who was the authority in charge.

The next morning Bobadilla landed, went to church to attend mass, and then addressed the populace gathered about to witness his arrival. He caused his first letter to be proclaimed as proof of his royal authority, and then demanded the persons of all the prisoners confined in the fort. Don Diego replied that only the admiral had authority to release them, as his authority was superior to that of Bobadilla. The next morning he again landed, assumed those powers which Ferdinand had intended him to assume only after an investigation of Columbus' administration and conviction of his culpability, and took the oath by which he assumed the governorship of the islands and of Terra Firma. Don Diego admitted the authority of the sovereigns, but still refused to give up the prisoners. To gain the good will of the populace, Bobadilla now caused to be read the King's letter authorizing him to pay all wages in arrears. He threatened to take the prisoners by force, if they were not released. Appearing before the fort, he summoned the commandant Miguel Diaz to surrender. Upon his refusal, he gathered his little band of retainers and a rabble of townspeople and forced the gate of the fort. He met with no resistance whatever and triumphantly proclaimed his victory.

With this rather anti-climatic incident Irving brings his

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With this... rather... incident... bring the

narrative of the life and voyages of Columbus to a conclusion.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE "LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS"

Washington Irving was ideally fitted to undertake the writing of a history of Christopher Columbus and his voyages of discovery. As an historical-minded and unusually intelligent American, he was deeply interested in the personality of the man who had been so instrumental in the discovery of his country. As a resident of long standing in various European countries he had acquired--indeed, he had been originally gifted with-- an extraordinary insight into the national consciousness and traditions of the various peoples among whom he found himself. His nature, instinctively cosmopolitan, had grown with his experience. A careful student of peoples and customs, he had shown an appreciation of the virtues of foreign peoples which the English had been quick to recognize even in his informal sketches.

Alexander Everett's suggestion that he translate Navarrete's "Voyages of Columbus" was merely the stimulus required to stir Irving into action of a kind he had long contemplated. His refusal to go on with the translation of this work, when he had familiarized himself with it, proved his sound judgment as an historian, for he instinctively realized that this dry collection of facts required humanizing before it could hope to arouse popular interest.

Irving's decision to write a history of his own, based upon the life and voyages of Columbus, was prompted by his great

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interest in the subject. Resident in Madrid with an official standing as an attaché of the American ministry, he was able to command every possible aid in the undertaking. His own literary reputation alone made such assistance merely nominal, as his personal popularity never failed to win him enthusiastic co-operation.

It was Washington Irving's actual presence in Spain during the writing of this history that enabled him to produce a work of such authenticity and charm. He might well have succeeded in producing a translation of Navarrete's history had he done the work in England or America; for such a translation would have been largely mechanical and as translator he would not have been responsible for the truthfulness of the narrative. But undertaking, as he did, the writing of a history of Columbus based upon his own investigations and knowledge, it was imperative that he be within easy reach of unimpeachable sources. As I have already indicated, he did endless research work in the Royal Library at Madrid and the library of the Jesuits' College of San Isidro. He acknowledged many useful suggestions from the Spanish historian Navarrete, and he also makes mention of the library of the American Consul at Madrid. He based his history upon that of the Spanish historian Bishop Las Casas and he had constant reference to the original journal of Columbus himself. All these advantages it is apparent would have been denied him had he been elsewhere than in Spain.

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namely, that Irving was an accomplished scholar of the Spanish tongue. He was quite content to study old Spanish documents, for he not only had no difficulty in interpreting their meaning, but was sufficiently versed in the history of the period to appreciate their true significance. This mastery of a foreign tongue gave him an insight into the Spanish mind and sympathy with Spanish history and viewpoint that would have been lacking in a writer not so fortunately equipped.

Finally, the temperament of Washington Irving himself fitted him perfectly for his projected work. As I have already indicated, his purpose was to write a "minute and circumstantial" account of the subject, "endeavoring to place every fact in such a point of view that the reader might perceive its merits and draw his own maxims and conclusions." He also strove to reproduce the flavor of the historic period in which Columbus lived and labored, for, as he studied the documentary evidence of the times, he became impressed with the intrigues and secret hostility against which Columbus constantly had to struggle.

It is not surprising, then, that Irving has produced a history of Columbus and his voyages that has become a standard of excellence. It is as carefully documented as any historical work of the present day. Its refreshing narrative style has all the charm inherent in the work of Washington Irving. There is nothing dull or prosaic about it, nor is it ever weakened by any display of partisanship. Not less important, the history brought to light

1. Washington Irving, Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, p.9.

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many new and significant phases of Columbus' career which gave a clearer picture of the character of the great navigator. It is not surprising, therefore, that Murray revised his original decision not to publish such a work and that it met with enthusiastic acclaim upon both sides of the Atlantic. A revised edition, in fact, became a standard text book in the schools and colleges of the period.

VOYAGES OF THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS

Though this particular work of Irving's was not published until 1830, its subject matter was definitely linked with his research for "The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus". The idea of this history took shape in Irving's mind as he worked on the "Life", for he felt that it would be a fitting addition to the knowledge of the world concerning this adventurous period. The discoveries of Balboa, Pinzon, Pizzaro, were of the greatest importance in the discovery and development of the American continent. It was one of the ironies of fate that these men were actually to accomplish what Columbus dreamed about.

The First Voyage of Alonzo De Ojeda

Alonzo de Ojeda had already been associated with Columbus in his activities in Hispaniola and had proved to be an intrepid and successful leader of men. He had been brought up as a page in the household of one of Spain's leading nobles and military leaders, the Duke of Medina Celi, and had been trained in arms and in the graces of court life. De Ojeda was famous for his

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 leaders, the Duke of Medina del Campo, and had been trained in such
 and in the games of court life. De Ojeda was famous for his

proWess in individual combat and his strength and perseverance were topics of common talk all over Spain. He had a cousin, a Dominican friar, who was one of the first inquisitors of Spain and a great favorite with the Catholic sovereigns. This cousin was, moreover, an intimate friend of Bishop Fonseca, who had the chief management of Indian affairs, so it will be seen that Alonso de Ojeda possessed a personality and influence likely to be of assistance to him in the Spanish court.

Ojeda was in Spain when a letter from Columbus was received giving his account of his third voyage and of his discovery of the coast of Paria. Columbus' accounts of the wealth of this land, especially the abundance of pearls to be found there, excited the imagination and cupidity of Ojeda, who immediately conceived the idea of undertaking an expedition of his own to this promised land. Bishop Fonseca, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, saw an opportunity to harm the admiral, while at the same time gratifying his friendship for Ojeda, so he granted him authority to undertake a voyage to Paria. Ojeda was forbidden to visit any lands discovered by Columbus previous to 1495, or any territory over which the Portuguese possessed control. It is interesting to note that Ferdinand and Isabella had revoked permission for private adventurers to voyage to America. Aware of this, Fonseca did not seek royal authority for Ojeda, who sailed without it.

Ojeda sailed with a squadron of four vessels from Port St. Mary in May of the year 1499 and landed safely at the Island of Trinidad. One of his associates on this voyage was Amerigo Ves-

pucci, a Florentine merchant, whose letters give much information about the customs of the natives. He was much interested in the form of their houses, which were bell-shaped, made of tree-trunks, thatched with palm leaves, and large enough to shelter six hundred persons. A change of residence was necessary every seven or eight years because of the crowding and the maladies originating from the heat of the climate. The disposal of their dead also interested Vespucci. It was their custom to place the body in a cavern, leave a jar of water and food at its head, and abandon it without any sign of lamentation. If they believed one of their number to be dying, they placed him in a hammock, suspended from a tree in the forest. They then danced about him until evening, left four day's supplies, and abandoned him. If he recovered and returned to the village, he was received with great rejoicing, but if he died the body was left in the hammock without further ceremony.

The native method of handling a fever also excited interest. The patient was plunged into a bath of very cold water, and then compelled to run in circles about a great fire, until he was in a violent perspiration, when he was put to bed and allowed to sleep. This treatment was almost always efficacious.

After touching at the Gulf of Paria, Ojeda steered along the coast of Terra Firma, until he arrived at the Gulf of Pearls. At Maracapana he unloaded and careened his vessels for repairs, living on the bounty of the natives who proved most friendly. The natives sought his aid against a distant tribe of cannibals who often invaded their shores. Always ready for a fight, Ojeda

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took on board seven Indian guides and sailed for the Caribee Islands. He found the shores of one of these islands thronged with Indians who showed every evidence of hostility. Ojeda ordered out his boats, filled them with soldiers, whom he ordered to lie down out of sight on the bottom. Each boat mounted a small cannon. As the boats approached the shore the natives discharged a flight of arrows, without much effect, and threw themselves into the water to attack the boats. The soldiers now arose, discharged their weapons, and put the natives to flight. On this occasion the superior armor and equipment of the Spanish was triumphant.

Ojeda now proceeded to the island of Curazao, until he came to a deep gulf. He entered this tranquil lake and was surprised to discover a large marine village resting on its waters. The houses were built on piles and were bell-shaped, with a draw-bridge which could be raised for protection. Ojeda quite naturally called this the Gulf of Venice, from which the present-day name of the country, Venezuela, derives. The natives here proved treacherous. In proof of apparent friendship they visited the vessels, bringing with them sixteen young girls, whom they divided among the ships as tokens of amity. The canoes of the Indians surrounded the ships, engaged in friendly barter. At a preconceived signal the Indians discharged their arrows, while all the Indian maidens dived from the ships. Ojeda, with his customary promptness, launched his boats and succeeded in driving away the natives.

Having failed as yet to realize his dreams of vast wealth, Ojeda now continued his voyage along the west coast of Venezuela.

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Still unsuccessful, he later sailed for Hispaniola, though his orders forbade him to land on the island. In his "Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus" Irving describes the meeting between Roldan, the reformed rebel sent by Columbus, and Ojeda. The latter, forced eventually to leave Hispaniola, returned to Cadiz in June, 1500, his vessel filled with prisoners to be sold as slaves, but without the pearls and gold of which he had been in search. When all the expenses of the voyage were met, but five hundred ducats remained to be divided among fifty-five adventurers. But if the voyage was a financial failure, it had at least resulted in further knowledge of the new lands across the sea.

The Voyage of Pedro Nino and Christoval Guerra

The voyage of Pedro Nino, who had sailed with Columbus as a pilot on his first voyage, and Christoval Guerra, a rich merchant of Seville who financed the expedition, is of interest because it resulted in greater material gain than any other voyage that had been made to the western islands. The expedition consisted of a single fifty-ton ship, with a crew of thirty-three. But a few days after the departure of Ojeda on his first voyage, the little vessel put out from Palos on a voyage which was to eclipse in profit the more elaborate expeditions of Columbus himself.

The vessel followed Columbus' route on his first voyage and reached the coast of Paria about fifteen days after Ojeda. Here dye-wood was cut and friendly trading with the natives proved profitable. The ship encountered near the coast a squadron of

eighteen canoes manned by the dreaded Caribs, who did not hesitate to attack. A sudden burst of artillery from the ports of the caravel proved too much for their courage, however, and the native squadron fled.

Nino and Guerra now steered for the island of Margareta, where they were successful in obtaining, by barter, a considerable quantity of pearls. They also traded along the coast of Cumana, where they landed at various native coast towns with profitable results. If the number of natives seemed to menace their safety, they remained on board ship and compelled the natives to come to them. The usual glass beads and other trinkets were exchanged for gold or pearls. These pearls were of unusual size and beauty and the Spaniards remained on the coast of Cumana for three months, profiting greatly by their transactions. Coming at length to a part of the coast where Ojeda had given battle to the natives, Nino and Guerra met with a hostile reception and wisely decided to return to Spain.

The unusual success of the expedition made all Spain throb with excitement and the Spanish government itself suspicious that its share of the profits had not all been paid. Nino was imprisoned for a time, but was released when no proof of his culpability was advanced. This expedition was noteworthy because of its peaceful methods and financial success. It paid in ducats, evidently, to avoid trouble with the Indians, but the Spaniards were very slow to discover and apply this fact, as the actions of later explorers amply proved.

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The Voyage of Vincente Pinzon in 1499

We already know how prominent was the part the Pinzon family played in the first voyage of Columbus. They had aided the admiral to finance his first voyage, but the jealousy and treachery of Martin Pinzon had alienated Columbus from him, while pride forbade further co-operation. As soon, however, as Ferdinand and Isabella permitted any Spaniard to organize his own expedition for overseas, this ancient family of navigators thought they saw an opportunity for enrichment. Bishop Fonseca was delighted to issue the authorization, for he considered it a direct blow at the prestige of Columbus himself.

Vicente Pinzon was the leader of the expedition, which consisted of four caravels. His three principal pilots, or ship's officers, had sailed with Columbus, as had many of his crew. Pinzon's funds were exhausted by the financial drain of fitting out his ships for sea, as the merchants and ship-chandlers of Palos charged him eighty to one hundred per cent above the market value for their merchandise. He chose to pay these exorbitant prices rather than delay his sailing.

The little fleet put to sea in December, passed the Canaries and Cape de Verde Islands, and sailed about seven hundred leagues to the southwest, where they crossed the equator and lost sight of the north star. A terrible tempest nearly destroyed them and without the north star they were ignorant of their course, but Pinzon sailed in what he believed to be a westerly direction and

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The little fleet put to sea in December, passed the Cape Verde Islands, and sailed about seven hundred leagues to the southwest, where they crossed the equator and lost sight of the north star. A terrible tempest nearly destroyed them and without the north star they were ignorant of their course, but Pinzon called in what he believed to be a westerly direction and

finally made land. He called it Cape Santa Maria de la Consolacion, from his joy at sight of it, but he did not know that it was a part of what is now known as Brazil. He landed and took possession in the name of Spain, so this rather casual discovery meant much to the future of his native land. The Indians he encountered were of unusual stature and fierceness and repelled all efforts at barter.

Discouraged with the inhospitable character of the coast, Pinzon now sailed to the northwest, until he came to the mouth of a river too shallow to float his vessels. He sent his boats ashore and his men beheld a group of Indians on a neighboring hill. Pinzon sent a single armed soldier to meet them, who approached and threw to them a single hawk's bell. The natives accepted the bell and threw a small gilded wand in return. As the Spaniard stooped to pick it up, the Indians rushed upon him. He defended himself so bravely with sword and buckler that he kept his attackers at bay until his comrades could come to his assistance.

A general encounter now ensued and this time the Spaniards were defeated. Eight or ten Spaniards were slain by arrows or lances and the remainder compelled to retreat to their boats. The natives attacked the boats and a desperate encounter resulted. One of the boats was seized, its crew overpowered, and it was borne off in triumph. The remaining white men succeeded in reaching their vessels, after the most disastrous defeat ever meted out by the Indians.

Pinzon now sailed forty leagues to the northwest until he

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 hill. With a long single arrow he sent them, the arrow
 and threw to them a single hawk's ball. The natives answered
 the ball and threw a small gilded wand in return. As the Spaniards
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Ponce now sailed with Pizarro to the northwest until he

came to a mighty river. He was led to its discovery by finding the sea so fresh that he was able to replenish his water casks. This phenomenon induced him to sail to land, where he found a river of great width and depth, no other than the Amazon. The rush of fresh water from the river and the salt tide of the ocean caused mountainous waves from which he extricated his little squadron with difficulty. He had found little gold in the country, so he requited the hospitality of the natives by carrying off thirty-six as captives.

He now picked up the north star and laid his course to Hispaniola. While at anchor off the island in July a tremendous hurricane arose and two of his caravels sank with all their crew. A third ship was driven to sea, while the crew of the fourth took to the boats and escaped safely to shore. Fortunately, the caraval driven to sea returned after the storm, the abandoned vessel survived the tempest, and the Spaniards repaired the damage and returned safely to the harbor of Palos in September.

The expedition proved to be one of the most disastrous undertaken to the new world. The loss of life had been great and the voyage had proved a financial failure. The merchants of Palos attached the vessel in an effort to secure payment for their supplies. Pinzon appealed to the sovereigns for permission to sell three hundred and fifty quintals of Brazil-wood which he had brought back with him and thus satisfied the demands of his creditors. But the popularity of a voyage to the Indies as a means of recouping financial losses suffered a temporary eclipse.

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cupping financial losses enticed a temporary seizure.

Second Voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda

Ojeda now aspired to a more successful second voyage. Through the good offices of Bishop Fonseca he secured a royal grant of six leagues of land in the southern part of Hispaniola and the government of the province of Coquibacoa, which he had discovered. He was required to make further exploration of Terra Firma, but was forbidden to trade in pearls on the coast of Paria. He was also ordered to colonize Coquibacoa and was permitted to enjoy half the revenus therefrom. Ferdinand had been alarmed at the report of English adventurers off the coast of this province and he wished a military post to be set up there to defend the country for Spain. Ojeda found two men willing to advance money for the expedition and a squadron of four ships was fitted out.

After touching at the island of Margarita, de Ojeda sailed to a part of the coast which he named Valfermosa, where he pillaged the Indians with his usual ruthlessness. Arrived at Coquibacoa, he determined to locate his first settlement at Santa Cruz, now called Bahia Honda. He constructed a fortress, not without some interference from the natives, and filled it with equipment and supplies. Upon the completion of the fort, Ojeda discovered that his fleet was in grave danger from the broma, or worms, which had riddled the hulls of his vessels. Soon the lack of provisions made itself felt and his men began to murmur. His associates, Vergara and Ocampo, objected to Ojeda's private control of the strong box and laid a plot to entrap him. Ojeda was invited on board Vergara's caraval,

Second Voyage of Alonso de Ojeda

Ojeda now applied to a more successful second voyage. Through the good offices of Bishop Fonseca he secured a royal grant of six leagues of land in the southern part of Hispaniola and the government of the province of Capibacoa, which he had discovered. He was required to make further exploration of Terra Firma, but was forbidden to trade in pearls on the coast of Paria. He was also ordered to colonize Capibacoa and was permitted to enjoy half the revenue therefrom. Ferdinand had been alarmed at the report of English adventurers in the coast of that province and had a military post to be set up there to defend the country. Ojeda found two men willing to advance money for the expedition and a squadron of four ships was fitted out.

After touching at the island of Margarita, de Ojeda sailed to a part of the coast which he named Valloparaiso, where he allied the Indians with the royal authorities. Arrived at Capibacoa, he determined to locate his first settlement at Santa Cruz, now called Santa Helena. He constructed a fortress, not without some labor from the natives, and filled it with equipment and supplies. Upon the completion of the fort, Ojeda discovered that his fleet was in grave danger from the brown, or white, which had killed the bulk of his vessel. Upon the lack of provisions made itself felt and the men began to murmur. His associates, Veruza and Juan de, objected to Ojeda's private control of the strong box and Juan de Ojeda to enter that Ojeda was lavished on board Veruza's vessel.

which had just arrived from Jamaica. He was then accused of stealing the funds of the expedition, of exceeding his authority in the province, with having stirred the Indians to needless rebellion, and with having proved himself altogether unreliable. Vergara and Ocampo then announced their intention of imprisoning him and of returning to Spain. Changing their intentions, they landed at San Domingo instead, where the chief judge, after hearing the complaints of both parties, returned a verdict against Ojeda and stripped him of all his possessions, leaving him in debt for the royal proportion of the profits of the voyage.

Third Voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda

King Ferdinand was greatly excited by the reports of Columbus regarding the gold mines of Veragua, but the admiral had failed to found a permanent colony there. His death removed an obstacle to its settlement, in the mind of Ferdinand, and he looked about for a proper person to effect the subjugation of the country. De Ojeda was absent from Spain at the time, but he heard of the King's design and sent his friend, Juan de la Cosa, to plead his cause at court. Ojeda had the support of Bishop Fonseca, but a rival leader of the expedition presented himself in the person of Diego de Nicuesa, a noble of important connections and great wealth. The King settled the difficulty by authorizing two expeditions and divided the continent between the two men, giving them permission to use the island of Jamaica as a common source of supplies. Juan de la Cosa was made lieutenant to Ojeda in the government of his

which had just arrived from Spain. He was then accused of being
 the cause of the expedition, of exceeding his authority in
 the province, with having stirred the Indians to rebellion. For-
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 eigners and natives then announced their intention of punishing him
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 king was made lieutenant to Ojeda in the government of his

territory and it was the former who fitted out a ship and two brigantines to carry them to the new world. Nicuesa, possessed of ampler wealth, armed four large vessels and two brigantines, enlisted a larger force, and set sail with much acclaim.

The two fleets arrived at San Domingo at about the same time. Ojeda, incensed at the superior equipment of his rival, sought for some way to increase his own armament. Soon he met the Bachellor Martin Fernandez de Encisco, who had amassed a comfortable fortune as a lawyer in San Domingo. The promise of the chief judgeship of the new province decided Encisco to take a financial part in the adventure and he readily agreed to supply a vessel of his own and to recruit the men necessary to operate it. This done, he was to join Ojeda at his new colony.

Ojeda and Nicuessa, both impetuous and jealous of the authority of the other, quarreled about their rights in Jamaica, but Don Diego Cö Columbus considered that he had some rights in the matter himself, and sent Juan de Esquibel to take possession for himself. Ojeda now departed for the province, but Nicuessa lingered at San Domingo, where he permitted himself to get into debt and was only allowed to depart upon payment of the sum in question by a generous spectator.

Arrived at the harbor of Carthagenä, Juan de la Cosa was alarmed at the strength and hostility of the natives, fearing for the success of the expedition upon which he had staked his all. He advised Ojeda to locate his settlement at some less inhabited spot on the coast, but the impetuous soldier was too

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matter himself, and sent Juan de Escobedo to take possession for
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mained at San Domingo, where he prevailed upon him to get into debt
and was only allowed to leave upon payment of the sum in question
by a Genoese speculator.

Arrived at the mouth of the bay, Ojeda was informed
of the strength and quality of the natives, finding
for the success of the expedition upon which he had trusted his
all. He advised Ojeda to locate his settlement at some point
backed out on the coast, but the expedition sailed for the

proud to alter his plans on account of the Indians. He landed and ordered the friars with him to read aloud a proclamation announcing him as the governor of the new province and requiring obedience on pain of death. The natives were little impressed and offered signs of hostility, which infuriated Ojeda so much that he rushed upon them instantly, pursuing them triumphantly four leagues into the interior. He met further resistance as he advanced, but he again succeeded in driving the Indians further inland. Taking captive seventy of the enemy, he continued to advance, in spite of the warning of de la Cosa. Coming upon a deserted village at nightfall, his men began to plunder. They were suddenly attacked with great fury while they were thus separated, but this time their iron armor did not avail and most of them were killed.

Ojeda took refuge in a native hut with a few soldiers. He managed to protect himself from a shower of arrows, but all his men were slain. La Cosa joined him with a few men, but he had been wounded by a poisoned arrow and soon succumbed. Only one man escaped to tell the story of this disaster. Days afterward, men from the ships were searching the shores for traces of the little army that had followed Ojeda into the interior. They caught sight of the body of a white man stretched across the roots of a mangrove tree. Coming nearer, they discovered it to be Ojeda, in the last stages of hunger and exhaustion. When he had been revived, he described how he had cut his way alone through the Indians, had wandered for days in the mountains, not daring to show himself

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 the last stages of hunger and exhaustion. When he had been revived
 he described how he had cut his way alone through the Indians,
 and wandered for days in the mountains, not daring to show himself

for fear of capture, and had finally made his way in safety to the coast.

Nicuesssa's ships soon entered the harbor, to the great distress of Ojeda, who feared that Nicuesssa would take advantage of his weakness to wreak personal vengeance upon him. Nicuesssa upheld the best traditions of Spanish nobility, however, and offered instead to avenge the loss of Ojeda's little army. The two governors, now on terms of amity, led an expedition for four hundred men to the Indian village. Believing that the Spaniards had been driven off, the natives kept no watch and were easily surprised. Ojeda and Nicuesssa took a terrible vengeance upon them, burning the village and slaying all the inhabitants.

Ojeda now set sail for the Gulf of Uraba and searched for the river Darien, famous for gold among the natives, but did not find it. Finally he gave up further exploration and founded his new settlement upon a height at the east side of the Gulf. Calling it San Sebastian, quite aptly, he erected the usual fortress and took the usual precaution of surrounding it with a stockade. He further sent word to Encisco at San Domingo that he must hurry to the rescue with his ship. His men had now great fear of the poisoned arrows, which were capable of penetrating iron armor. On several expeditions into the interior the Spaniards met disaster at the hands of the enraged natives and it was no longer possible for them to forage the country for supplies, as in the past.

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Ubeda now set sail for the Gulf of Uruca and searched for
-the river barrier. However, he could scarce find the natives, and the river
-did not finally give up to another expedition until he had reached his
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of the Spanish soldiers in this expedition under Ojeda. He supplies us with intensely interesting details of a period and a people of whom most Americans would have little knowledge, were it not for the painstaking research of Washington Irving and his easy narrative style, which appeals to readers of every degree of intelligence and taste.

The natives believed that Ojeda bore a charmed life, which he himself believed. He carried a little painting of the Virgin with him constantly, which had been given him by Bishop Fonseca, and at the end of the day's march would often kneel before it in adoration. Wishing to determine the truth of Ojeda's belief, which seemed borne out by circumstances, the Indians concealed four of their number in ambush. They then advanced toward the fort uttering yells of defiance, thinking that, as usual, Ojeda would rush forth to defy them. He did so, following them into the forest past the ambushed warriors, who now launched their shafts. Three arrows struck his buckler and glanced off, but the fourth wounded him in the thigh.

The poison made itself felt in the form of a chill which penetrated the lower part of his body. Ojeda was inspired with a sudden thought. He compelled the reluctant surgeon to press a red hot iron plate against the wound, bearing the pain without a murmur. He then had his inflamed body wrapped in sheets steeped in vinegar to assuage the burns. Bishop Las Casas, writes Irving, is authority for the statement that a cure was miraculously effected.

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As a result of the experiment that a great number of people

A. P. O. N. Co.

Starvation now threatened San Sebastian, for the town was practically in a state of siege. Rebellion was imminent, but matters were arranging themselves at San Domingo in a manner almost miraculously devised to aid the beleaguered governor. Ojeda's vessel, which he had sent to San Domingo to hasten the arrival of Encisco, had reached that port freighted with slaves and gold, giving proof of the wealth of the new settlement. A certain Bernardino de Talavera, a reckless adventurer, found himself threatened with prison for debt. Secretly gathering a band of rascals in similar case with himself, he decided to escape to San Sebastian to retrieve his fortunes. Hearing of a vessel at Cape Tiburon, on the western side of Hispaniola, they boarded her, overpowered the crew, and managed to make their way to the new colony.

The appearance of this vessel at San Sebastian gave Ojeda his opportunity. He decided to return in her to San Domingo to secure aid, but concealed his intentions from her pirate crew. Scarcely had Ojeda come aboard the ship when a fierce altercation broke out between him and Talavera as to who was entitled to command. He challenged the entire crew to combat, two at a time, but his reputation was well known and they declined. Instead, they threw him into the hold in irons. But nature intervened, a terrible storm arose, and the amateur navigators of the pirate crew, having little faith in their own seamanship, demanded that Ojeda be given command in the emergency. He accepted the responsibility, on condition that he be allowed to pilot the ship to her destination. Storms and adverse winds drove him away from

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San Domingo, however, and he had no other recourse but to beach the vessel, in a sinking condition, on the shore of Cuba.

The author now describes the epic journey of Ojeda and his companions through the swamps of Cuba. His little band was too feeble and disheartened to fight its way through the populous parts of the island, so Ojeda tried to make his way between the mountainous regions of the island and the coastline. The savannahs, where the Spaniards had only to overcome long grass and creeping vines, soon gave way to a deep morass. Hoping to reach the end of this, the travellers continued on their way, only to meet the same terrible conditions. Surrounded by water up to their waists, they yet suffered awful thirst, for the water was too briny to drink. Their only supplies were remnants of cassava bread and cheese and roots which they secured along the way. Rest was impossible except in the limbs of the trees. For thirty days Ojeda and his men suffered the tortures of the damned. Of the seventy men who entered this fatal morass, but thirty-five emerged after a journey of thirty leagues. At length, leaving behind him the remnants of his band, Ojeda pressed forward until he encountered firm ground. Following a footpath, they at length arrived at an Indian village, where they sank exhausted. The Indians treated them with more than Christian forbearance, and the cacique of the tribe sent his warriors into the swamp to rescue the remaining Spaniards.

Guided by the Indians across the province of Macaca, Ojeda arrived at the coast, procured canoes at this point, and arrived safe at Jamaica. He found himself obliged to take refuge with ~~Don Diego's governor, Esquibel, whom he had formerly threatened~~

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riors into the swamp to rescue the remaining Spaniards.
Guided by the Indians across the province of Macanao, Ojeda
arrived at the coast, procured canoes at this point, and arrived
safe at Jamaica. He found himself obliged to take refuge with
don Diego de Rojas, English, who had already discovered

to kill if he set foot on the island. Esquebel received him in friendly fashion and sent him on his way to San Domingo. Ruined in fortune and health, Alonzo de Ojeda, one of the most courageous and picturesque explorers of all Spain, now assumed a humble part in the life of San Domingo and died later without money enough to provide for his own burial.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa

As one of the most famous of Spanish explorers, Irving now turns to the career of Balboa, an adventurer whom he characterizes as "equally daring, far more renowned, and not less unfortunate" than Ojeda. Like all the other Spanish explorers, the fate of Balboa was complicated by swiftly changing political conditions. The little community of Darien divided into two factions, one favoring the ambitions of the Bachelor Encisco, the other those of Balboa. Balboa summoned the lawyer to trial on a charge of usurping the powers of alcalde mayor, on the appointment of Ojeda, whose authority Balboa contended did not extend to Darien. Encisco was adjudged guilty, stripped of his property, and thrown into prison. He presently secured permission to return to Spain, but Balboa sent on the same ship Zamudio, his fellow alcalde, so that he might be in Spain to refute the expected charges of Encisco.

Balboa knew that the sending of riches to Spain would do much to induce Ferdinand to continue him in authority. Acting upon the advice of two Spaniards who had previously taken refuge with Careta, the cacique of Coyba, who informed him that he would

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usurping the power of Alonso's mayor, on the appointment of Ojeda,
whose authority Balboa contested did not extend to Darien. Balboa
was attacked early, and thrown into prison. He resolutely refused permission to return to Spain, but
Balboa sent on the same ship with him, his fellow explorers, so that
he might be in Spain to refute the expected charges of treason.
Balboa knew that the sending of Balboa to Spain would be
then to induce Ferdinand to continue him in authority. Acting
near the advice of two Spaniards who had previously taken refuge
with Cortes, the emperor of Spain, who informed him that he would

find immense booty at the home of the chieftain, he set off for Coyba with a hundred and thirty men. Careta received him hospitably, but told him that he had neither gold nor a great supply of provisions. Balboa's informant assured him secretly that the cacique was deceiving him. The Spanish governor now took a cordial leave of the Indian and started his journey homeward, but he turned back at nightfall, surprised the village and took the cacique and his family prisoners. Careta agreed to supply the desired provisions and offered Balboa his daughter as a hostage for future good conduct. Balboa accepted his terms and gradually allowed the Indian princess to acquire great influence over him.

Balboa's next expedition took him to the adjacent province of Comagre. He again was well received by the cacique, who endeavored to purchase his good will by giving him four thousand ounces of gold and sixty slaves. The Spaniards fell into a violent dispute over the division of the spoils. At this the cacique pointed southward to a range of mountains. Beyond these, he told Balboa, lay a great sea and beyond the sea was a great continent, on the southern slope of which lived a people who had much gold. He informed the explorer that the journey to the sea was through the territory of many powerful native chieftains, some of whom were cannibals, and that he would need at least a thousand men to defeat them. Such was his description of the Pacific Ocean and the territory adjacent thereto. The project captured the imagination of Balboa and became his chief objective throughout the remainder of his life. Its success meant fame and fortune

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undreamed and he continually strove to bring about the discovery of this fabled country.

Balboa decided to explore the province of Dobayba, forty leagues distant, which was the seat of a fabled temple dedicated to an Indian goddess, which tradition reported to be filled with gold in various forms. He took with him one hundred and seventy men, two brigantines, and a number of canoes. When he reached a great river called the Rio Grande de San Juan, he detached one third of his forces to explore the stream, while he followed another branch of the river to Dobayba. Zamac, the cacique of Darien and his old enemy, had warned the inhabitants of the Spaniards' approach, so Balboa entered a deserted village. Disappointed in his expectation of finding provisions and great wealth and deterred by the wild nature of the country from further exploration, Balboa withdrew to the Gulf of Uraba and rejoined his detachment. He now explored a stream which emptied into the Grand River and came into a region of shallow lakes. The houses of the natives were built in the trees and entered by ladders which afforded access to them and which could be withdrawn in case of attack. After cutting down some of the trees, the Spaniards persuaded the natives to descend. The Indians proved destitute of wealth in any form and Balboa retreated unsatisfied to Darien.

Shortly afterward Hurtado, whom he had left with a small expedition on the Black River, returned with a remnant of his force, which had been greatly decimated by Indian attacks. He

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Balboa decided to explore the province of Bobaya, forty leagues distant, which was the seat of a tribe of people devoted to an Indian goddess, which tradition reported to be filled with gold in various forms. He took with him one hundred and seventy men, two brigantines, and a number of canoes. When he reached one great river called the Rio Grande de San Juan, he detached one third of his forces to explore the stream, while he followed another branch of the river to Bobaya. Hence, the cacique of Bobaya and his aid enemy, had warned the inhabitants of the Spaniards' approach, so Balboa entered a deserted village. He appointed in his expectation of finding provisions and great wealth and deterred by the wild nature of the country from further exploration, Balboa withdrew to the Giff of Uraba and rejoined his detachment. He now explored a stream which emptied into the Grand River and came into a region of shallow lakes. The houses of the natives were built in the trees and entered by ladders which afforded access to them and which could be withdrawn in case of attack. After cutting down some of the trees, the Spaniards persuaded the natives to descend. The Indians proved destitute of wealth in any form and Balboa requested unwillingly to depart.

Shortly afterward Enriquez, whom he had left with a small expedition on the Black River, returned with a remnant of his force, which had been greatly weakened by Indian attacks. He

brought news of a great Indian conspiracy between Zemaco and four other Indian chieftains, who planned to surprise Darien. The information was corroborated by an Indian maiden named Fulvia, who was strongly attached to Balboa. He sent for her brother, who told him the details of the plot. The caciques had assembled five thousand men and planned to attack the settlement by land and water at night.

Balboa made a circuit by land with seventy men, while he sent sixty men in canoes under the guidance of the Indian prisoner. They surprised the Indian leaders and secured many provisions, but failed to capture Zemaco. The leading conspirators were hanged and rebellion died out for the time, at least.

News now came from Spain that the Bachelor Encisco had succeeded in arousing the sympathy of the Spanish throne. Ferdinand had reversed the decision against Encisco and threatened to summon Balboa to Spain to explain his actions. Dismayed by these tidings, Balboa decided to make a bold effort to discover the Southern Sea, as success in this great enterprise would be almost certain to result in renewed favor from the throne. His little army consisted of one hundred and ninety of his best men and he also took with him a number of bloodhounds, of whom the Indians stood in great terror. He embarked on a single brigantine and nine large canoes and soon arrived at Coyba, from whose cacique Careta he had accepted his daughter as a hostage.

Balboa left about half of his men at Coyba to guard the ship and canoes, while he struck into the mountains with the re-

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mainder. The tropical heat and the march into the highlands along precipitous mountain trails was exhausting for armored men. Arrived at the village of Ponca, the foe of Careta, the expedition again encountered a deserted village. At length Ponca was located and persuaded to come to Balboa, who won his good will and persuaded him to furnish guides through his territory. Ponca assured him that only one more mountain separated him from the Southern Sea.

After putting to flight the Indians of the next territory entered, the Spaniards marched to the village of the cacique, Quaraqua, where they found considerable booty in gold and jewels. Arrived near the summit of the last mountain range, Balboa ordered his men to rest while he ascended the final peak. As he gained the final height, he saw below him forest and green savannahs and in the distance the glittering waters of the Pacific. The discovery took place upon the twenty-sixth of September, 1513. As Balboa advanced to the shores of the Pacific he was met by the Indian chieftain of the territory, Chiapes, who forbade his advance. The explorer ordered his arquebusiers to the front, poured in a volley at short range, let loose his bloodhounds, and the astonished natives fled in wild disorder. Chiapes now thought better of his resistance, brought forth five hundred pounds of gold as a peace offering, and granted permission to the Spaniards to remain in the territory.

Balboa now determined to cross a great gulf which penetrated into the land. Chiapes warned him of sudden storms at this season

EXPEDITION BOND

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of the year, but the Spaniard embarked sixty men in nine canoes and set sail. Soon tremendous seas threatened to swamp the heavily laden craft, and only the success of the Indians in tying them together in pairs prevented disaster. Toward evening the expedition took refuge upon a small island. They were awakened in the night by the rising waters, until they found themselves standing in the sea up to their waists. Fortunately the waters then began to subside and they came to a realization of the high tides of this new Southern Sea. The canoes were badly battered and it was with difficulty that they were bound and braced with bark and sea weed to render them again seaworthy.

At length Balboa made his way to a corner of the gulf ruled over by Tumaco. Again the musketry and the dogs put the natives to route and friendly relations were then established. Tumaco gave the explorer much gold and two hundred pearls of great size and beauty. He also informed him that the coast which he saw stretching to the west continued without end far to the south where he would find a country abounding with gold. This was the second time that Balboa had received news of Peru.

Balboa had received visible proof of the existence of the Southern Ocean and had taken possession of it for his sovereign. He also felt certain that the land stretching southward was indeed a continent of great riches. Feeling that he had accomplished his great mission, he decided to begin his return to Darien. The return journey presented terrible difficulties. The march led through impenetrable morasses, over steep mountain trails, and

of the year, but the Spaniards embarked sixty men in three canoes and set sail. Soon afterwards were threatened to swap the heavy laden craft, and only the success of the Indians in tying them together in pairs prevented disaster. Toward evening the expedition took refuge upon a small island. They were awakened in the night by the rising water, until they found themselves standing in the sea up to their waists. Fortunately the waters then began to subside and they came to a realization of the high tides of the new Southern Sea. The canoes were badly battered and it was with difficulty that they were found and passed with bark and sea weed to render them again seaworthy.

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through land destitute of water and provisions. Warned by their guides, the Spaniards had nevertheless failed to prepare themselves with the necessary supplies, preferring to carry with them the immense quantity of booty which they had captured. Famine ensued, little relieved by the Indians through whose territory they passed.

Reaching the land of the warlike cacique Tubanama, whom all the Indian tribes greatly feared, Balboa looked at his tired little band and decided that if he were to win through this territory he would have to do it by stratagem, rather than by force. He accordingly advanced secretly upon the village of Tubanama, surprised it in the night, and captured the redoubtable cacique and his family without difficulty. All resistance proved to be at an end. Tubanama offered gold to the value of six thousand crowns for his release and the Spaniards proceeded upon their way rejoicing, arriving safely at Darien in January of the year 1514.

The Bachelor Encisco had now won his case and Ferdinand had decided to supplant Balboa as governor of Darien. His determination was strengthened by the arrival in Spain of Cayzedo and Colmenares with tidings of the existence of the great Southern Sea, which had been communicated to them by the son of the cacique Comagre. Ferdinand appointed Don Pedro Arias Davilla, known as Pedrarias, as governor and gave him two thousand men and lavish equipment. The chivalry of Spain thronged to join the expedition. Scarcely had the little group of explorers sailed, however, when Pedro Arbolancho arrived as the emissary of Balboa, announcing

through land destined of water and provisions. Turned by their guides, the Spaniards had nevertheless failed to procure themselves with the necessary supplies, preferring to carry with them the immense quantity of booty which they had captured. Remains remained little relieved by the Indians through whose territory they passed.

Resolving the kind of the worklike captain Tubanus, whom all the Indian tribes greatly feared, Balboa looked at his tired little band and decided that if he were to win through this territory he would have to do it by surprise, and rather by force. He accordingly advanced secretly upon the village of Tibawa, surprised it in the night, and captured the respectable captain and his family with him. All this success proved to be an end. Tubanus offered gold to the value of six thousand crowns for his release and the Spaniards proceeded upon their way rejoicing, arriving safely at Darien in January of the year 1514.

The Bachelor Enríquez had now won his case and Ferdinand had decided to appoint Balboa as governor of Darien. His determination was strengthened by the arrival in Spain of Cayrodo and Colon, menaces with tidings of the existence of the great Southern Sea, which had been communicated to them by the sailor the seadog Coscario. Ferdinand appointed Don Pedro Arzobispo Davila, known as Beharria, as governor and gave him two thousand men and lavish equipment. The chivalry of Spain longed to join the expedition, but they had the little group of explorers called, however, when Pedro Arzobispo arrived as the emissary of Balboa, announcing

the actual discovery of the Pacific and bearing the gold and pearls due the King. Ferdinand, practical man that he was, repented of his decision to depose the governor and demanded of Bishop Fonseca that he devise proper amends.

Upon the arrival of Don Pedrarias at Darien he at first conducted himself with great circumspection. Saying nothing of his intentions toward Balboa, he won his immediate confidence and persuade him to make a written report of his discoveries. The discoverer plotted his route, wrote detailed descriptions of the Pearl Islands, and gave other indispensable information. Upon the conclusion of this kindly act, Don Pedrarias revealed his true character and started judicial proceedings against the governor.

Quevado, Bishop of Darien, fearing the power of the new governor, decided to oppose him and took up the cause of Balboa. The chief judge, who had come with Don Pedrarias, was likewise loath to proceed against the governor. In spite of the secret attempt of Don Pedrarias to manufacture evidence against Balboa, the governor was acquitted of malfeasance. The Bishop, wishing to keep Balboa at Darien to advance his own fortunes, also persuaded Don Pedrarias not to send him back to Spain, suggesting that his presence there would probably result in a change of the royal attitude toward him, since the news of his discoveries had reached Spain.

Again famine and disease took their toll of the inhabitants of Darien. Many of the Spanish cavaliers perished, seven hundred

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Spain.

At the time and place look their toll of the inhabitants
of Arden. Many of the Spanish cavaliers perished, seven hundred

of them in one month, to be exact. Don Pedrarias now decided to distract the attention of the settlers from their miseries by sending an expedition to Dobaya in search of the golden temple. Many of the inexperienced cavaliers volunteered and the governor appointed Balboa to take the command, in the belief that he would fail in the enterprise. To make sure of this, he appointed Luis Carrillo to an equal share in the command. The expedition crossed the gulf and proceeded up the river leading to the district of Dobayba. They were suddenly surprised by a large fleet of canoes and the Indian attack was so desperate that more than half of the Spaniards were killed. Luis Carrillo was transfixed by an Indian lance, Balboa himself was wounded, and the remnants of the expedition escaped with the greatest difficulty.

Orders from Spain now came that profoundly affected the relationship between Balboa and Don Pedrarias. Ferdinand expressed his appreciation of Balboa's discovery of the Southern Ocean, made him adelantado, or mayor, of the South Sea and governor of the provinces of Panama and Coyba, though subordinate to the general command of Don Pedrarias. The good Don concealed the news of Balboa's elevation to new honors while he called a council to decide what should be done about it. He proposed to keep Balboa in ignorance of Ferdinand's orders, meanwhile informing the King anew of the charges against the former governor. The Bishop of Darien insisted that this would constitute disobedience to the King. A compromise was finally agreed upon, by which Balboa was to be told of his appointment as governor of Panama and

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Coyba, but was not to be permitted to assume his new duties without the permission of Don Pedrarias.

At this moment Andres Garabito, whom Balboa had sent to Cuba to secure the necessary vessel, men, and supplies for his meditated secret expedition to the lands beyond the Southern Ocean, arrived near Darien. News of an armed ship was brought immediately to Don Pedrarias, who at once associated it with a treacherous attack upon himself. The Bishop of Darien succeeded in changing the governor's determination to send Balboa to prison. In fact, he argued with such skill that he eventually induced Don Pedrarias to cease his constant persecution. As a mark of their new relationship, the Don offered his eldest daughter to Balboa in marriage and even allowed him to plan and carry out his favorite enterprise of another exploration of the Southern Ocean.

Realizing from his former experience the impracticability of canoes, Balboa now planned to prepare the materials for four brigantines on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, transport them over the mountain trails to the coast of the Southern Ocean, and assemble them there. Several Spaniards, thirty negroes, and many Indians were engaged in this stupendous task. After the loss of many lives the timber for two brigantines was safely transported, only to discover that it had been rendered useless from the ravages of worms. Again, after the logs had been cut, the river suddenly rose and swept away the results of their labor, the workmen escaping with their lives by taking to the trees. Eventually,

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At this moment Andres Gualberto, who had been sent to Cuba to secure the necessary vessel, men, and supplies for his

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many lives the timber for two brigades was safely transported, only to discover that it had been rendered useless from the ravages

of worms. Again, after the logs had been cut, the river swollen by rain and swept away the results of their labor, the workmen

escaping with their lives by falling to the trees. Eventually,

after incredible hardship, Balboa equipped two vessels, filled them with as many men as they would carry, and started upon his voyage.

He touched first at the Pearl Islands, where he intended to construct the two remaining vessels of his little fleet. Dispatching his two vessels to bring the remainder of his men to the islands, upon their return he decided on a voyage of exploration while the new ships were being constructed. Sailing about twenty leagues beyond the Gulf of San Miguel, he ran into a school of whales, which stretched like a barrier across his way. Fearing to run through them, the navigator decided not to sail further south at this time. In the morning the wind proved contrary and the whales were still in evidence. By such trivialities was Balboa robbed of the discovery of Peru.

He now returned to Isla Rica to complete the building of his two ships. While there, news reached him that Don Pedrarias was about to be superceded by another governor. After a council, he decided to send Andres Garabito to Acla, near Darien, on the pretext of procuring needed supplies. If Garabito found Don Pedrarias still in control, he was to account to him for the delay in the expedition. Should the governor have been deposed, Garabito was to return without delay with that information.

Balboa could not have chosen a more unfortunate messenger. Garabito harbored a secret grudge against the explorer, with whom he had quarreled over the daughter of the cacique Careta, of whom Balboa was still fond. Garabito had written privately

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He now returned to take him to complete the building of his two ships. While there, he was reached by Don Fernand Alonzo, who had been appointed by another governor. After a council he decided to send Andres Bernaldo de Aola, near Darien, on the pretext of procuring needed supplies. If Bernaldo found Don Fernand still in control, he was to account to him for the delay in the expedition. Should the governor have been deposed, Bernaldo was to return without delay with that information. Balboa could not have chosen a more unfortunate messenger. Bernaldo harbored a secret grudge against the explorer, with whom he had quarreled over the daughter of the cacique Gueata, of whom Balboa was still fond. Bernaldo had written privately

to Don Pedrarias, telling him that Balboa was still under the influence of his Indian paramour and that he had no intention of marrying the governor's daughter. He also stated that Balboa, when his other vessels were completed, intended to abandon all allegiance to Don Pedrarias and to sail as an independent commander.

Upon his arrival at Acla, Garabito found Don Pedrarias still in authority, his successor having died as he was about to land. The conduct of Garabito aroused suspicion and he was arrested and his letter of instructions discovered. Don Pedrarias was furious at the suspected treachery, but wrote a friendly letter to Balboa asking him to return to Careta for a conference before he went on his expedition. Fearing that Balboa might be suspicious of his designs, he also sent a band of men under Pizarro to apprehend him. Balboa discovered the hostile intentions of the governor from the friendly messengers as he neared Acla, but permitted himself to be taken by Pizarro and led before the governor.

A violent scene took place between them. Don Pedrarias accused him of disloyalty to Spain and of treachery to himself. Balboa indignantly denied any intention of disloyalty. He had surrendered voluntarily, he declared. He might easily, furthermore, have embarked upon his fleet, which was now completed, and have sailed away, had he chosen. Instead, he had come directly to Don Pedrarias to settle the misunderstanding amicably.

Balboa was now put to trial before the alcalde mayor, who had little hostility toward him. To strengthen the charges against

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A violent quarrel took place between them. Don Pedrarias accused him of disloyalty to Spain and of treachery to himself. Balboa indignantly denied any intention of disloyalty. He had volunteered voluntarily, he declared. He might easily, furthermore, have embarked upon his fleet, which was now completed, and have sailed away, had he chosen. Instead, he had come directly to Don Pedrarias to settle the misunderstanding amicably. Balboa was now out to trial before the alcalde mayor, who had little hostility toward him. To strengthen the charges against

him, he was accused of wrongs against the Bachelor Encisco many years before. A verdict of guilty was finally pronounced upon Balboa and several of his officers and all were condemned to be executed. The community was deeply stirred by these executions. Balboa met death upon the block with the calmness of a man to whom death had ceased to hold any terror. Observed secretly by the malignant Don Pedrarias through a peephole in the walls of a nearby cottage, Balboa failed to satisfy the hopes of the governor that he would meet an ignominious end. Thus perished one of the greatest navigators and explorers that Spain had ever known.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE "VOYAGES OF THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS"

In his introduction to the "Voyages " Irving states that this work was the direct outcome of his researches in Spain in preparation for the writing of his history of Columbus. With 1
the instinct of the true historian, it was the author's habit to make profuse notes upon any subject that interested him, even though it had no immediate bearing upon the work in hand. This custom did somewhat delay him in the production of his history of Columbus, but it also resulted in the production of later works, of which the "Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus" was one.

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1. Washington Irving, Voyages and Discoveries, p. 324.

him, he was accused of wrong against the teacher and was
 years before. A verdict of guilty was finally pronounced upon
 Balboa and several of his officers and all were condemned to be
 executed. The community was deeply stirred by these executions.
 Balboa had been seen the block with the darkness of a man to
 whom death had seemed to hold any terror. Observed secretly by
 the malignant Don Pizarro through a crevice in the walls of
 a nearby cottage, Balboa failed to betray the hope of the
 governor that he would meet an ignominious end. Thus perished
 one of the greatest navigators and explorers that Spain has
 ever known.

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 I. Washington Irving, Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus, p. 524

in the Feudal Ages. He deeply admired the bravery of the early explorers and was just the man to appreciate the spirit of chivalry which made their expeditions possible. As an historian, he also found the play of political intrigue at the court of Spain a study of profound interest and significance. He felt that the spirit of military glory, developed in Spain as the result of the long war against the Moors, had been transferred to the sea with the coming of Columbus and his successors. It was a spirit that had never been surpassed in the history of any nation and its practical application to the discovery of the new world deserved to be chronicled.

In his research work in the libraries of old Spain Irving discovered much interesting information which he wove into the fabric of his narrative. He gives fascinating details of the lives and customs of various Indian tribes. He is quick to feel the romantic glamor of the struggles and hardships of the Spanish cavaliers in their effort to colonize the new world. He pays full credit to their spirit of chivalry and enterprise, while he deplores their failure to practice the principles of the religion which they sought to impose upon the natives.

Irving found much to inspire him in the records of the Spanish historian Navarrete, who graciously placed his library at his disposal. He also acknowledges his indebtedness to the second volume of Oviedo's general history, which he explained existed only in manuscript form in the Columbian Library of the Cathedral of Seville. He also studied at great length the documents in the

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Living found much to fascinate him in the records of the Span-
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 disposal. He also scrutinized his manuscripts in the second
 volume of Ovando's general history, which he explained existed
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law case between Don Diego Columbus, the son of the great navigator, and the Spanish Crown. These documents, which revealed the inside story of the many intrigues and deceptions to which Columbus was subjected, would not have been accessible to him outside of Spain.

The style of this work is similar to that of his history of Columbus. Irving felt that a simple, detailed narrative, from which he kept all trace of his own opinions, would prove most interesting to the general reader. But, none the less, the reader is guided by the discriminating mind of Irving, who interprets and dramatizes the extraordinary character of these masterful explorers and paints in the colorful background of their exploits. The author succeeds to a remarkable degree in humanizing the period and nation of which he writes. His interest in the history of England, as revealed in his various sketches, had been largely developed as the result of study before his arrival in that country. His interest in Spain, on the other hand, was directly attributable to his long residence and travels in that country, which so inspired him that he was able to convert this inspiration to lifelong account.

IRVING'S REACTION TO SPANISH HISTORY AND PEOPLES

Washington Irving formed many lasting friendships at the Russian Ministry while living at Madrid. Prince Dolgorouki, a Russian attaché, and Irving found much in common, and Mlle. Bolviller, a friend of the Russian Minister, was another intimate.

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From letters to both we get a glimpse of Irving's real reactions to Spanish history and environment in a way that he would not have revealed to a casual acquaintance. In 1828 he wrote to Prince Dolgorouki: "As I live in the neighborhood of the Library of the Jesuits' College of St. Isidoro, I pass most of my mornings there. 1. You cannot think what a delight I feel in passing through its galleries filled with old, parchment-bound books. It is a perfect wilderness of curiosity to me. What a deep-felt quiet luxury there is in delving into the rich ore of these old, neglected volumes. How these hours of uninterrupted intellectual enjoyment, so tranquil and independent, repay one for the ennui and disappointment too often experienced in the intercourse of society."

While writing "The Life and Voyages of Columbus" Irving first developed his intense interest in the Moorish invasion and occupation of Spain. As he travelled about Spain and studied with delight the remains of Moorish architecture on every hand, he came more and more to realize the indelible imprint which nine hundred years of Moorish domination had made upon the land and the people of Spain.

The letters and journals of Washington Irving at this period abound with bits of vivid description and enthusiastic appreciation of Spain and her people. It is not without reason that Charles Dudley Warner calls this: "The most fruitful period of Irving's life." It was entirely logical that Irving should now devote his attention to the long series of wars by which the Span-
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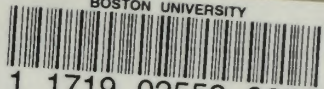
iard finally put an end to Moorish domination. His study of Spanish history had already acquainted him with the outstanding facts of this struggle which had altered, while it also united, the national life of Spain. Always keenly alive to the possibilities of unusual personalities, Irving saw in Ferdinand and Isabella not only two significant royal personages, but also the living symbols of that force which had made Spain foremost among the nations of the fifteenth century.

Irving brought the unfinished manuscript of the "Conquest" with him to Seville, when he came there to be nearer the scene of the chronicle upon which he was engaged. His notebooks and letters amply prove that he was daily stimulated by actual contact with the land in which this epic struggle had occurred. As he wrote about Granada he was actually resident in the old castle as the guest of the Spanish governor. He delighted equally in the chivalry and courage of Moor and Christian. He came to understand the extraordinary energy and piety of Queen Isabella and the deep respect with which she came to be regarded by Moor and Christian alike. He saw in the enmity of Muley Aben Hassan and his son Boabdil el Chico as important a factor in the downfall of the Moor as the relentless perseverance and strategy of Ferdinand himself.

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